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Charter of Democracy
PPP-PML(N) Accord

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Pakistan: What has Become of It!

By: Mohammed Ibrahim Joyo

“Blessed are they who have a history
They know what to do in the future:
Blessed are they who have a future
They know what to do now.”

(Anon.)

“What are we fighting for? What are we aiming at? It is not theocracy, not for a theocratic state. Religion is there and religion is dear to us. But there are other things which are very very vital: our social life, our economic life......”

(Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah at Muslim League Legislators’ Convention, Delhi, April 11, 1946)

Pakistan as an independent and sovereign state in the Indian subcontinent has completed its six decades of life. Its peoples have already crossed full span of their two generations. Whatever be the country’s claims to stability and security territorially, notwithstanding the trauma of dismemberment it had to suffer in 1971, the integrity of its peoples as a nation has not only shown no firm cohesiveness but looks today visibly shaken, if not seriously in doldrums.

Human relations, personal or public, in any sphere of life, social or political or any, find viability on basis of agreed norms among persons or parties involved. In absence of such norms, and even in their presence if there be no assurance for the same to be observed in practice, disputes become endemic, and ensuing crises and deadlocks come to be stemmed or over-come only by ‘recourse to the last resort’, and Might with its arbitrary claims to Right gains ascendancy for the time, and with it, sets out instantly in quest for a firmer and more credible legitimacy in yet other fanciful claims and complacencies of its own. But the requisite legitimacy that way, somehow, eludes, as ever it must. And the contrariness and hence the clash
between the Might and the Right continues dogging such an ill-placed and ill-ordered human situation to the misery of all concerned.

Pakistan since its birth and throughout its sixty years of life has been exhibiting this scenario in an ‘all too regular pattern’, giving rise to fears of the pattern never ceasing or changing, if no agreed set of norms, with assurance for the same to be observed in practice, is soon discovered or created.

But when it comes to creating or even discovering norms for the people or peoples to live together in amity and peace, and, further more, when it comes to observance thereof in practice, there stand the proprietors and dispensers of the Might, the ‘herdsman’ and the ‘hounds’ of Friedrich Nietzsche’s description, snarling and snapping at every such exercise. About such of them it was that Nietzsche wrote:

“Herdsmen, I say, but they call themselves the good and just. Herdsmen, I say, but they call themselves the believers in the orthodox belief.

“Behold the good and just! Whom do they hate most? Him who breaketh up their tables of values, the breaker, the law breaker: he, however is the creator.

“Behold the believers of all beliefs! Whom do they hate most? Him who breaketh up their tables of values, the breaker: he, however is the creator”. 3

The very first such ‘breaker’, ‘the law breaker’, ‘the creator’, in the context of the post-independence politics in Pakistan, was, indeed, no other than Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah himself, who, with courage unprecedented in practical politicians, as he himself surely chose to remain throughout his career, assailed his own ‘table of values’, the very bases of his platform from where he had demanded, insisted upon and got the state of Pakistan.

On August 11, 1947, almost on the eve of Pakistan’s birth, he made a weighty pronouncement in his inaugural speech to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, putting aside as of no further use his two-nation theory, the sole credo for what by that time came to be known and ever since has continued to be aired as the ‘Ideology of Pakistan’. Addressing the House from the august position he commanded as founder of Pakistan and with his eye on its constitution - in - making, as if very deliberately he was expounding the first contractual Resolution of March, 1940, which came to be later called the Pakistan Resolution, he said:
“Now what shall we do? Now if we want to make this great state of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate on the wellbeing of the people and specially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in cooperation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what his colour, cast or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this state, with equal rights, privileges and other obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make.4

“I cannot emphasise it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of majority and minority communities — the Hindu community and the Muslim community…. will vanish….. Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our own ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense, as citizens of the state……” 4

[Emphasis added].

In a flash, as if, was invalidated thus the two-nation theory_ the theory that Muslims all, or the Indian Muslims, or even the Muslims of Pakistan were a nation, which indeed they never were_ then, now or in the past ever. Invalidated too, with a finality which only Mr. Jinnah was capable of giving, if he chose, to his words, were several other illusions and delusions, seeded on the two-nation theory itself, ab-initio a concept of a set political expediency_ which were fostered and had grown into self-serving beliefs and day-dreams with the gullible Muslim crowds in pre-partition India.

But, alas, the time and circumstances were not propitious for recognition of the weight, let alone for the acceptance or success, of Mr. Jinnah’s credit-worthy (albeit late-in-the-day) undertaking. Indeed he should have known the fate which awaited his brave gesture. His own ‘herdsman and hounds’ who stood on the alert lost no moment in snapping at the hand, his own hand, that was thus stretched out to help the new born state to find its feet in modern polity. And all the pitfalls, which the state of Pakistan has since suffered_ including its debacle in East Pakistan and the ominous national dissidences and discords dogging it today on all sides, arose out of its thoughtless rejection of the sanest advice of the Founder as his last
testament, in which, acting as the deliberate ‘law breaker’ in the case of his own ‘table of values’, the proclaimed, with all his personal authenticity behind them, he norms and patterns of political and socio-economic which he desired the new state of Pakistan to adopt and begin to follow, so that it could proceed holding together varied peoples in willing harmony and in course of time guide them into a well adjusted composite nation of fraternal peoples within Pakistan.

With the Quid-e-Azam sadly leaving the stage soon after, only the heartless ‘herdsmen’ and more particularly their ‘hounds’ were left behind walking struttingly on and around the stage, including in particular the Jamait Islami, which from the bitterest foe of Muslim Nationalism till the birth of Pakistan managed immediately after to present itself as its most orthodox believer and zealous protector willfully blind to the sheer irrelevancy and negativity of the theory in the changed context. It was never realized that if the theory had to stay thenceforth, it would do so only at the expense of not only the well-being of the broad masses but, more particularly, of the safety and security of the helpless ‘Muslim majorities’ of the peoples, the small and weaker peoples, the Sindhis, the Baluchees and the Pukhtoons (and even the Bengalis), who, being each territorially, historically and culturally a national entity, if afforded no guaranteed recognition as such in the constitution of Pakistan, and only lumped together in a combination of peoples under an illiberal, autarchic state, and indeterminately labelled as ‘Muslim or even ‘Pakistani’, would not be able effectively to claim and enjoy their right to their known respective homelands, national resources and cultural aquisitions, and were bound to be severally and even jointly suppressed and swamped under the overall irreversible majority rule reinforced by the exclusive and exceptional military hegemony of one of their own brotherly peoples within the combination. All the game then for each one of these smaller and weaker peoples and their masses living under the given state, will be over, save the shouting.

It was in the context of circumstances almost such as these, that Nietzsche lamented death of peoples under the dead weight of an up-coming totalitarian state, identifying it as ‘The New Idol’:-

“A state? What is that? Well! Open now your ears unto me, for now will I say unto you my word concerning…… the coldest of all cold monsters. Coldly lieth it also; and this lie creepeth from its mouth: ‘I, the state am the people’.

“It is a lie! Creators were they who created peoples, and hung a faith and a love over them: thus they served life.
“Destroyers, are they who lay snares for many, and call it the state: they hang a sword and a hundred cravings over them……

“‘On earth there is nothing greater than I: it is I who am the regulating finger of God” thus roareth the monster”………

And behind this lie—, ‘I, the state am the people’ and this roar— ‘Nothing greater than I on earth….. I, the regulating finger of God’ no doubt, lay the argument of Islam as ‘the sole common tie’, the commonness of which was, how-ever, immediately seen by the herdsmen of the state of Pakistan themselves to be so tenuous and brittle that they at once drew in one more tie, that of language (and that of Urdu at that). The supplementary tie of language, in turn, only strengthened claims of the defacto and more validly existing peoples to their respective national identities, possessing, as each did, both Islam and a language of its own! Then came the formulation of the Objectives Resolution by these ‘herdsmen’, with sparkle of Islam liberally added— an omni-genous talking point, an all-weather mask, a shield, a weapon, rather an all-purpose business tool— the business, alas, being that of ‘destroyers’ and not of ‘creators’. An acrimonious sit-in debate then ensued on ‘electorates’ separate versus joint— which, at one point, saw the West Pakistan (one-Unit) Assembly adopting (on August 4, 1956) separate electorate and the pairing-part East Pakistan Assembly adopting (on October 1, 1956) joint electorate, and the herdsmen’s home-made (by then, the second) Constituent Assembly bemusedly adopting (on October 12, 1956) both the separate and the joint— the one for the West Wing and the other for the East Wing—, which freak of a political arrangement for the take-off of a state, though proving still-made yet presaged disaster as the same actually came about only a decade later. Meanwhile, of course and ever since, the country only dreamt but never could achieve a viable institution of democratic decision-making at any level, consultative or administrative— notwithstanding efforts of varied types, all ostensibly aimed thereat— the basic, the controlled, the Shoraic, the non-party, and lately even one-party effort, ‘the hell-bent and devil- meant’ effort, actually amounting to one-man ‘Eleven’ playing cricket all by itself! And as to Quaid’s insistence in particular on ‘wholly and solely concentrating on the wellbeing of the people and specially of the masses and the poor’- the herdsmen, with their hounds, in Pakistan, throughout their six decades of the license to rule, bothered themselves the least for it. The rule of law, social justice, the economic freedom and cultural enlightment of the masses, the essential guarantees of the wellbeing of the people, never surfaced in the jungle of their ‘free-for-all’, which in the traditions of their imperialist masters of the western world, they called ‘free enterprize’— the state of total scrummage of pelf and power—, and life in all its spheres gradually went on getting brutalized, till things have now come to a pass when only the hounds rule, and everybody else, including the herdsmen, only await the moves of the
hounds' hunt-instincts, in fear, in frozen wonderment and virtually as soft sweet butter for pacification or service as by the hounds themselves needed or commanded.

Today, the herdsmen in Pakistan calling themselves ‘the good and just’, ‘the believers in the orthodox belief’ (-the enlightened moderation) these holding social elitism and economic privilege as divinely ordained and hence sacrosanct, and for whom the peoples were and are only straying herds to be kept within bounds under the soldier’s whip and the Mullah’s ‘holy writ’, lose no moment in ascribing the present predicament of Pakistan and its peoples to what they allege as ‘denial and subversion’ of what they call ‘ideology of Pakistan’. Politics of elitism and special privilege, because of its essential inequity and injustice, being ever the game of bluff, there could hardly be a greater bluff than the one thus practiced on the peoples of Pakistan. It is a classic example of 'laying blame for one's own crimes at the door of others', 'giving dog a bad name and hanging it', the sheer Might trying to bully the Right to submission in the clash for ascendancy.

Now, what most validly is the Ideology of Pakistan? Certainly the one embodied in the Pakistan Resolution of as early a year as 1940, standing even today inscribed on the Minar-e-Pakistan, and exactly at the spot of Pakistan’s good earth where it was moved, discussed and unanimously adopted; also equally the same most validly embodied in the consequentially amended Constitution of the All-India Muslim League incorporating it as its sole political aim and object at Madras in the League’s next following annual sessions in 1941; and also the very same equally most validly embodied in Mr. Jinnah’s expose, in his August 11th, speech of his total national credo till then used by him as an argument in the polemics for Pakistan.

And what do these three documents of the most solemn and totally irrefutable authenticity say about the ideology of Pakistan?

The Quaid-e-Azam’s inaugural speech at the Constituent Assembly has been substantially quoted above already. Below for the readers’ closer scrutiny is submitted now the text of the Pakistan Resolution, which, in the agitative dazzle of light it naturally carried for us all, often missed our intelligent gaze, and hardly left us rationally enlightened in the ordinary course as to what we looked for in Pakistan and what has in fact become of it. The Resolution read as follows:

“Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may
be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute ‘Independent States’ in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

“That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specially provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them, and in other parts of India where Mussalmans are in a minority adequate, effective, and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

“This session further authorizes the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as Defence, External affairs, Communications, Customs and such other matters as may be necessary.”

[Emphasis added]

The Revised political objective for the All-India Muslim League as was later adopted at Madras in 1941, consequent upon the passage of the Pakistan Resolution, in turn read as follows:

“i) The establishment of completely independent states formed by demarcating geographically contiguous units into regions which shall be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Mussalmans are numerically in a majority, as in the North Western and Eastern zones of India, shall be grouped together to constitute independent States, as Muslim Free National Homelands in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign:

“ii) That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the Constitution for minorities in the above
mentioned *units and regions* for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests *in consultation with them*;

“iii) That in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective, and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the Constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic political, administrative and other rights and interests *in consultation with them....*” 7

[Emphasis added]

What did these three basic documents about the genesis of Pakistan speak about Pakistan? They spoke about its *secularism*, with its non-Muslim minorities as equal citizens of the state. They spoke about its Muslims as a community and its Hindus as a community, and about neither of the two as a nation, and about the angularities even of these of its majority and minority communities vanishing in course of time. They spoke about religion as a matter of personal faith, and about politics being separate from religion. They also spoke about social democracy of Pakistan, ‘wholly and solely concentrating on the well-being of the people and specially of the masses and the poor.’ They spoke also about *national democracy* – the federal, the confederal democracy (call it what you may) of Pakistan, with autonomy and sovereignty vested in the units constituting federal independent States of Pakistan, the ‘Muslim Free National Homelands’ ‘Muslim’ because of these being the Muslim majority areas, and specifying even the powers viz; defence, external affairs, communications and customs and no other powers in particular for assumption by such states.

How was it then that the affairs of Pakistan, which started with such high promise and commitment, went wholly in a tangent soon after, and none of these agreed norms and patterns of socio-political life got established in it, and these all have instead turned now into subjects of instant consternation and even of provocation, for the masters and their yes-men in Pakistan? The reason lay in the transfer of the sovereignty and power of rule, at the very start, into wrong hands – the antidemocratic and even anti-human hands those of the decadent feudal aristocracy and of the hidebound bureaucracy- civil and military, the agents of the out-going colonial masters, raised and reared, trained and kept by them for the sole purpose of the subdual and suppression of the people. The men, the peoples, the rightful owners of sovereignty in a democratic state structure, and hence entitled to self-rule, were nowhere there in the picture. The departing alien Power and the agents it left behind saw to it that the people never moved
forward to occupy the stage. The one remark-ability of the phenomenon of freedom that we could thus see in our midst was the mere substitution of the foreign white overlords with the native brown ones. All other things essentially and in fact remained the same. The phenomenon was later described by Dr. Iqbal Ahmed, a noted political scholar, as ‘a continuation of the British Viceregal State system’, wholly committed firstly to safeguarding the feudal and the up-coming colonial shape of things inside the country and the standing and further expanding neo-colonialist interests of their ex-patrons in the area vacated by them; and secondly to the management of the state to that end purely as ‘a law-and-order assignments. No wonder then what we were fated to see in such a pseudo-state of freedom was only privilege, deprivation and conflict keeping all social life inside the fold spawning and on edge of bursting at the seams. This was indeed a great betrayal of all popular hopes and aspirations associated with freedom, other-wise the most liberating and the most uplifting human bliss on earth. Who but our aristocracy in charge and the infra-structure of the state’s coercive potential, our herdsmen and the hounds, could be responsible for this betrayal? and what a terrible betrayal indeed! Would that our people and our vain and deluded rulers had been forewarned as fearlessly and as authoritatively as were the peoples and the rulers of India, by Dr. Zakir Hussain, who, while hoisting the flag of independent India at the Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, on August 15, 1947, said: ‘Remember, a flag is a sacred symbol of a nation and a state. But it can also turn into a dirty rag if tyranny, injustice and oppression are perpetrated under its benign shadow’.

What could then be the way-out from this all-round socio-political mess in which all so visibly we find ourselves buried upto our necks. This indeed is the question of questions being probed for a real good answer in Pakistan. And the question has many an answer almost as many as are the claimants to the good things of life in Pakistan, i.e., all those who claim they have a stake in Pakistan its land and its society. But essentially the parties with such claims in Pakistan today are only two: the one we have all along identified above as ‘the herdsmen and the hounds’, on one side since they operate jointly and very rarely away from each other; and the rest of our broad humanity the men, the peoples are the other who unfortunately operate severally and very rarely as one, and for that reason alone the ranchers of humankind are easily tempted to treat them as herd driven cattle, either to be managed or mauled, and never to be regarded as men. The obvious answer to the question therefore is that the men, the peoples, the real masters, should awake, rise to their stature, and refuse to be treated as cattle. This the Ruling Mafia with their hounds in Pakistan the holy humbugs, the divines and witchframers included would never countenance. And hence a real, indeed a grave, fight is on hand with us all, the men, the peoples in Pakistan, to be fought and decisively won, for gaining our right to civilized existence as peoples and as men.
Long years back, I saw the world-renowned movie, “The Great Dictator”, written and directed by Charles Chaplin, in which a double role of dictator ‘Hynkel’ and a barber Jew was also played by the great Chaplin himself. At the end of the story, the barber Jew is led by his friend, the rebel commander ‘Schultz’, to receive the salute of the ‘Tomainian’ army and to address it on its ‘peaceful penetration’ in ‘Osterlich’ and was on that account to be in fact greeted and addressed by the dictator ‘Hynkel’ but who somehow was left behind drowning in a nearby lake. The subject of the movie was the story of a period between two World Wars—an interim in which insanity cut loose, liberty took a nose-dive and humanity was kicked around somewhat, a situation not far worse than ours during our long post-independence interim, which yet continues under our line of neo-dictators with nothing but fascistic stench, changing of guards, owls, bigotry, imbecility and mouthfuls of lies. With dictator ‘Hynkel’, the head herdsman, out drowning in a nearby lake, and the barber Jew, the persecuted human, occupying the stage, in company of his friend, the rebel commander ‘Schultz’, the dictator’s propaganda minister ‘Herr Garbititch’, the lead-hound, delivers his pack’s call, the hunters’ only language, the wild challenge of the Might. The army is then addressed by the barber Jew, afraid and halting to start with but powerful and positive at the end, and the day is finally carried by him. It would be appropriate to reproduce here these speeches, to highlight the two attitudes of the Might and of the Right of the evil and of the good of the ‘destroyers’ and of the ‘creators’—the perennial dichotomy ending in due time, in every specific case, by history’s good grace, in the triumph of the Right and of the urge of man to reach freedom’s haven, which the peoples in Pakistan too await and in due time are bound to fight for and win, for themselves and for their generations to come. And that moment has indeed arrived and beckons us all to step forward and catch it as we must.

The Two Speeches:

The first, by the leadhound of the pack, ‘Herr Garbititch’:

“Soldiers, Victory shall come to the worthy…..

“Today, democracy, liberty and equality are words to fool the people. No nation can progress with such ideas. They stand in the way of action. Therefore we frankly abolish them.

“In the future, each man will serve the interest of the State with absolute obedience. Let him who refuses beware.

“The rights of citizenship will be taken away from all Jews and other non-Aryans, They are inferior and
therefore enemies of the State. It is the duty of all true Aryans to hate and despise.

“Henceforth, this nation [the subjugated ‘Osterlich’ people] is annexed to the Tomainian Empire. And the people of this nation will obey the laws bestowed upon us by our great leader- the dictator of Tomainia, the Conqueror of Osterlich, the future Emperor of the World……”

**And the Second, by the barber Jew:**

“I don’t want to be an emperor. I don’t want to rule or conquer any ony.

“I shall like to help every one if possible Jew, gentle, blackman, white.

“We all want to help one another. Human beings are like that. We want to live by each other’s happiness, not by each other’s misery.

“We don’t want to hate or despise one another. In this world there is room for every one, and the good earth is rich and can provide for every one.

“The way of life can be free and beautiful. But we have lost the way. Greed has poisoned men’s souls, has barricaded the world with hate, has goosestepped us in misery and bloodshed.

“We have developed speed but we have shut ourselves in. Machinery that gives abundance has left us in want. Our knowledge has made us cynical, our cleverness hard and unkind. We think too much and feel too little. More than machinery, we need humanity. More than cleverness we need kindness and gentleness. Without these qualities life will be violent and all will be lost.

“The aeroplane and the radio have brought us closer together. The very nature of these inventions cries out for the goodness in men, cries out for the universal brotherhood, for the unity of us all. Even now my voice is reaching millions throughout the world, millions of despairing men, women and little children,
victims of a system that makes men torture and imprison innocent people.

“To those who can hear me, I say: Do not despair. The misery that is now upon us is but the passing shadow of greed, the bitterness of men who fear the way of human progress. The hate of man will pass, and dictators die, and the power they took from the people will return to the people, and so long as men die, liberty will never perish.

“Soldiers, don’t give yourselves to brutes, men who despise you and enslave you, who regiment your lives, tell you what to do, what to think, what to feel, who drill you, tire you, treat you like cattle, use you as cannon fodder. Don’t give yourselves to these unnatural men, machine men, with machine minds, machine hearts. You are not machines, you are not cattle. You are men. You have the love of humanity in your hearts. You don’t hate. Only the unloved hate, the unloved and the unnatural.

“Soldiers, don’t fight for slavery, fight for liberty. In the 17th chapter of St. Luke, it is written: ‘The Kingdom of God is within man, not in one man, not in group of men, but in all men, in you. You, the people have the power to create machines, power to create happiness. You, the people have the power to make this life free and beautiful, to make this life a wonderful adventure.

“Then, in the name of democracy, let us use that power. Let us all unite. Let us fight for a new world, the decent world that will give men a chance to work; that will give you the future and old age security.

“By the promise of these things, brutes have risen to power. But they lies, they do not fulfill that promise. They never will. Dictators free themselves but they enslave the people. Now, let us fight of fulfill that promise.

“Let us fight to free the world, to do away with national barriers [of the superior and the inferior], to do away with greed, with hate and intolerance.
“Let us fight for the world of reason, a world where science and progress will lead to all men’s happiness.

“Soldiers, in the name of democracy, let us all unite”.

[Prolonged applause]

Now, what about our soldiers and their civil counterparts- the camp followers of aspiring political parties in particular. What should we say to them? Would that they be prepared to unite with men and peoples of Pakistan in the name of democracy, and fight for liberty, for the world of reason a world where progress will lead to all men’s happiness rather than work like machines under brutes, the unnatural men, the herdsmen, and the hounds, for whom men are not men and peoples are no peoples, whose world is no human world and in whose brute world life has no meaning beyond greed, hate and man’s subjugation of man!? How fondly, indeed, it would be desired on all hands that they be, in fact, prepared thus to democratize and humanize themselves! And sooner they did so, the better!

In the meantime, then, what is to become of Pakistan? Without a shadow of doubt, Pakistan, in course of time, is going to become that the men and the peoples of Pakistan choose to make of it, and are prepared to die to make it so.

Those who for the last 60 years have been trying to maintain an impregnable hegemony of a single people of a single irreversible majority over the rest of the peoples of Pakistan, and calling it ‘democracy’ the usual modern one or of an Islamic brand of their preference and to bedrock it socially on paramountcy of power, not of truth, not of the Right, but of brute power and its counter part, brute money, have been doing it on the single formula of herdsmanship, namely Might is Right. Pakistan administered so far on that basis has been the Pakistan of the choice of those who put on the mantle of sovereignty and power of rule as faithful servants of their Anglo-American Neo-Colonial Masters, to start with. Left to themselves, they would love to manage their fief the same way indefinitely. To that end they have already arranged converting their hounds into co-sharers with them in the country’s wealth, natural as well as man-made, agricultural as well as industrial from institutions of service they have already been turned into institutions of vested interests direct partners in colonial exploitation of the peoples and their working masses.

The men, and the peoples, of Pakistan, however, would like to build Pakistan of their own choice the one that up to the eve of ‘freedom’ was promised to them, the one they had accepted as the country of their ‘free national homelands’ in which the constituent units, viz., Balochistan,
(Bengal,) Punjab, the land of Sarhad and Sindh, had to be autonomous and sovereign, in a Union of Equals, wielding equal control on all Union Affairs including affairs of the armed forces, wholly and solely concentrating, each in its way, on the well-being specially of its masses and the poor. Even now, when they have almost despaired of any viable chance of living together thus in fraternal equality, they would like to build Pakistan that way as a socio-national democracy 'national' because that is what their centuries old history guarantees to them as individual peoples, and 'social' because of the fact that distributive economic justice and universal well-being is the very condition of human, and more so, of secure and progressive modern existence of peoples in the world.

This the peoples and men of Pakistan can do and such a Pakistan they can build not in charity or as favour from their 'herdsmen and their hounds', but only through a determined struggle against them, and, after bringing them down to their knees, in a revolution that settles History's scores in its fight against man's tyranny and brutishness against man as the same has so far flourished around us a revolution that indeed is long over due in this part of our world.

Notes & reference:

1. The paper was first proposed as a speech to be read in a seminar on “Failure of Federalism in Pakistan”, called by Sindhi-Baloch-Pushtoon Front, for June, 1987, at Karachi, which, for unavoidable reasons, could not finally take place.


7. Vide Supra, p. 64.
8. Charlie Chaplin’s film-story of “The Great Dictator”, that ended thus in the triumph of man over the brute, caricatures Hitler, the Nazi dictator of Germany (Almania) as dictator “Hynkel of Tomainia”, and his propaganda minister Goebbels as “Garbitich”, - with a ‘barber Jew’ and the latter’s 1918 war companion, the rebel and hence the humanized (German) Commander ‘Schultz’ as two improvised characters. Hitler in his “Mein Kampf” (1927) advanced his philosophy of Nazism based on hatred of communism and of Jews. A fundamentalist racist, an ideological maniac, a self-intoxicated big mouth, Hitler was modern history’s most fanatic, cunning and ruthless exponent of “the rule of jungle’ viz., ‘Might is Right’, in the human world. He held Aryans as superior men and the Germans their perfect specimens, (the chosen of the chosen, the Herrenmenschen,) and hence best entitled to rule, and to lebensraum (= living space) at the cost of other peoples’ homelands. He accordingly set out rousing the Germans who, besides those in Germany, otherwise lived as minorities in different states in Europe. The way that he chose for it was straight and simple: annexation of all such states to German Reich (=Empire), and ‘the Germans should [then] rule the Empire... with an authoritarian and centralized administration: there should be only one official language German, and the schools and Universities should be used “to inculcate a feeling of common citizenship”, an ambiguous expression for Germanization (Hitler, a Study in Tyranny by Allan Bullock, p. 42, Pelican Books, 1952).

On assumption, by pure subterfuge, of dictatorial powers in 1933 as Chancellor of Germany, Hitler could wait only for 4 years, and at the beginning of 1938 he ordered his armies to get moving and bring about what he called anschlus (=Peaceful Union) by incorporating Austria (‘Osterlich’ of the film) in the German Reich, on which occasion the ‘barber Jew’ stole a march on him and quietly and decisively upset his apple-cart, at which point the story in the film symbolically ends. Actually, however, within only one year next, i.e., by the end of 1939, Hitler’s Reichs’wehr (=German armed forces) subjugated Memelland, Bohemia-Moravia, Slovakia and Poland, and imposed on them all their pax-Germannica (=Peace of the Germans). Poland, however, proved too much for Hitler, and with it the nemesis of his power started and 5 years later, when his reichs’swehr suffered crushing defeats on all fronts, notably at the hands of communist armies of the Soviet Union, Hitler committed suicide along with his gang of sleuth-hounds including his minister of lies, Herr ‘Garbititch’, meaning garbage, and the miserable INTERIM of history of that part of the world came to an end, to the great relief and new birth of the suppressed peoples surrounding Germany in Europe.
National Accounts handling in Pakistan:  
Is central decision making economically viable?

Naveed Shaikh*

Pakistan, as a nation state has remained prey to various severe incongruities on its political and economic grounds and for many political scientists and researchers army's historic dominance in state affairs has been the main source of these challenges. Indian institutional and political developments are quoted frequently in this regard which has never allowed army to be a political player in civil affairs.

If we dig a bit deeper into these challenges, on economic side, we will find that on one hand, Pakistan’s economic managers have been using National GDP growth rate, recorded as high as 7.02% in 2006-07 and foreign exchange reserves touching the historic height of $15.8 Billion, to prove their efficiency in the economic orb of the country. On the other side 80% of population from two provinces, Sindh and Balochistan, former being biggest source of revenue and later of gas and other minerals, is facing hardships even with their survival.

 Whereas political inconsistencies have found their premise in critical gap between federal government, the highest tier of government and the provincial government, middle tier between local and the federal government. Matters of resource distribution between federal government and provinces, formulation of policies to achieve national economic and social standards and enhancement of living standard of masses are dealt in such an *ad hoc* way and such short lived techniques are used that only can (have) generate/d ambiguities regarding development targets in provinces which are short of representation in federal government i.e. Sindh and Balochistan.

The dilemma of these provinces is that, these two have created several intellectuals ranging from politicians and poets to journalists and advocates.

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But when comes to economists and army men, these two provinces really lack the in this class of professionals. Economists are known to be the reflectors of what the nation owns in wealth, how to use them for its betterment and how much more does it need for the future and unfortunately Pakistan Army as an institution has remained the decisive power factor in all sectors of the civil and non civil activities in the country.

Presence of poverty among these provinces can partially be explained politically by simply elucidating political structure of Pakistan where army has remained a power hub and omnipresent at each and every step of calculation, estimation, production and distribution of national resources and joining of army as a profession by Sindhis and Balochis has never been on priority (or never allowed)\(^1\). In other words they are underrepresented in this institution.

Lack of serious effort among economists/institutions in these two provinces has created a vacuum where no scientific and reliable information on national (Provincial) resources and wealth is made available. This vacuum is ultimately filled with rumors, propagandas, political slogans and unscientific, illogical and unreliable arguments, which is never the alternative to a structured, scientific and up to international standard of research work. This has made these two provinces dependent on the centre for handling of their resources and wealth.

In the situation when centre has been following skewed economic policies regarding distribution of resources, formula for distribution is inclined to favour only one province; there is a dire need to assess the priorities of centre on the basis of internationally accepted economic rules.

No doubt improvement in GDP growth rate and Foreign Reserves is really vital to measure any nation’s progress. Notwithstanding, knowledge about issues of income inequality, economic dissimilarities, widening disparities between living standards in rural and urban areas and area wise measures of human development index demands disaggregation of national data.

Either data is aggregated or disaggregated; these national and regional documents provide the reader with glimpse of priorities of policy makers of the country.

\(^1\) As no perfect reliable and scientific information is available on both so the statement is used with immense care.
Records of national accounts mirror nothing but the aggregate description of production and consumption activities of nationals of a country in and outside its borders in a period of one year. In this way the behaviour of its economic agents - producers, consumers and government determines the trend of progress in the economy. Each one of these agents demands or supplies goods, services and factors of production, depending upon their prices. However while observing aggregate national accounts of a nonmarket economy like Pakistan, where political will and power determines criteria for distribution, aggregated macroeconomic data base of a country does not give the true picture of different regions. Importance of disaggregation of national accounts is widely accepted by regional policy makers while formulating development policies in different regions.

In the present study, priorities of our national policy makers while formulating any economic or social plans will be analyzed keeping in view the economic rules of data analysis and estimation and calculation of economic indicators.

In the following paragraphs, general rules of economics as a discipline regarding flow of resources will be discussed.

Further, we will try to focus on the issues of distribution of national resources among provinces (hence their economic participation in production and consumption) and scrutiny of CPI-based calculation of inflation rate in Pakistan. Finally, I will wrap up my article.

As mentioned earlier, there are three agents in the national economy responsible for economic activities, producers, consumers and government. Government plays a dual role, falling, some times, in the bracket of producer and other times in that of consumers. So role of government can be set out side the system and can be treated as the exogenous force intervening the economy for better. Apart from its dual role, there is another quiet valid reason to set the role of government out side system, which is specific with most of the third world countries like Pakistan. Political arrangements badly lack economic considerations regarding crafting government setups for certain tenure. Neither these considerations are demanded by masses locally nor are supplied by the political parties. Taking the advantage of lack of knowledge in masses most often these considerations are hidden willfully to accomplish the hidden agendas skewed to some specific groups.

The sole purpose of keeping government outside of the system is to release unnecessary complications from our main motive of this paper i.e. treating producers and consumers as the active agents and government as intervening power acting outside system. Although the importance of government as an active economic agent is ever growing as the complexities
of economic development processes grow and has not even been curtailed by the mighty surge of economic globalization and liberalization.

The matter under analysis now treats producers and consumers as economically active agents. As the present paper is focusing on production and consumption activities in Sindh, which is not a country by itself but a part of a country, it lacks necessary reliable and scientific data to carry on comprehensive and full-fledged study covering all of its revenue generating sectors.

Due to the raison d’être and for further simplicity of the matter here, we exclude external sector’s role in the domestic production and consumption of the country. By this we mean that no variable can be included in the system, which requires information about exports from and imports in Sindh.

With this we complete a simple system:

\[ Y = C + I \]

Where \( Y \) represents national income of Sindh
\( C \) is Consumption which represents consumers
\( I \) is Investment which represents producers
\( G \) is Government and dot on it excludes it from the analysis as a variable however it remains as an exogenous force influencing “\( C \)” and “\( I \)”.

The simple economic system given above describes the overall expenditure (consumption) and production (investment) of the area under study.

As we have already excluded external sector from our analysis so no question of aid, grants, external trade or Foreign Direct Investment have part in the analysis of a simple economy. Only domestic savings translate in to local investment.

Developing the simple model, we are in need of the reliable data from different sectors, which determine the level of consumption.

Here it is important to note that the study will consider only those interventions by government, which are supposed to be distortionary in their nature to the smooth process of markets demand and supply forces.

We focus on two distortionary interventions of federal government in economic affairs of the provinces, which create miseries among their masses. First, lopsided vertical fiscal relations of provinces and federal government where later uses its discretionary power, due to being an

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2 Production process further depends upon factors of production which can be explained as \( Q=\text{f}(L,K,T) \) where \( Q \) is quantity produced, \( L \) is labour, \( K \) is capital and \( T \) is Terrain.
authoritarian government setup to usurp the rights of smaller provinces and exploit their resources and horizontal fiscal relationship among provinces themselves.

Second official calculation of inflation rate which is biased towards rural sector, snubbing and deflating the presence of rural population which is 65% of the country’s total population.

Let’s examine the first distortion.

According to last (2006) year data, federal tax pool was projected to be about Rs.725 billion, the share of the four provinces calculated about Rs.329 Billion, Sindh got Rs.83 Billion a little more than Rs.81.5 Billion, fixed in 1997 NFC though the federal government collected more than Rs. 525 Billion tax revenues only from Sindh which is 72.4% of total tax revenue during the same year. This could have been possible only because the distribution of resources have been on the single point formula, population. For many this unscientific, illogical and exploitative basis of distribution has been adapted in resource distribution only because it favours only one province which is the home of the country’s army!

This skewness and inclination of federal government in favouring only one province at the cost of rest of the three provinces shows the power and over representation of one province in centre. Giving economic bounties to one part of the country, having a federal structure, while exploiting the resources of the other parts shows that the decisions, policies, planning and agendas in the federal government are not made preserving economic considerations, national and regional living standard and betterment through out the board.

Secondly, calculation of facts and figures is maneuvered in such a way so that a rosy picture of national statistics can be obtained. The data and statistics is being created in such a way that only shows art of good book keeping of our economic managers. We will take the example of calculation of national inflation rates.

Federal Bureau of Statistics calculates and releases different price indices to measure inflation among them Consumer Price Index (CPI), Wholesale Price Index (WPI) and Sensitive Price Index (SPI) are important. Most widely used and quoted index of inflation is Consumer Price Index. CPI covers retail prices of 375 items in major centres of the country and show the living standard in urban areas. WPI is used to calculate price changes of a basket of 245 items at wholesale level prevailing in the cities of origin of the commodities.
SPI measures changes in 53 kitchen items consumed by low-income households whose monthly income is up to Rs 3000.

In CPI, among all 375 items, Food, beverages and Tobacco constitute for 44% of the basket, followed by house rent at 21.69% and fuel and lighting at 8.10%. All goods and services included in this basket are assigned weights that are held unrealistically constant for 10 years. These weights are based on family budget survey conducted in 2000. Now, if we verify the reliability of CPI figures for inflation, we must assume that the prices and tastes of people of Pakistan during 2000 to 2010 have not changed. However, ground realities differ from the theoretical assumption of keeping the above said weights constant for such a long period.

Further CPI takes into account 375 items and that too focus on buying habits of urban population. Items like TV, VCR, computers, washing machines, carpets, Deep Freezers, Air conditioners, household servants, tissue papers, toilet paper rolls are included in the CPI basket of goods and services which are considered as the luxury items for inhabitants of rural areas. Decrease in the price of these items during last 10 years has put downward pressure on the figures of inflation in Pakistan significantly. Whereas neither in reality prices of goods and services consumed most often in rural areas have observed downward change during last 10 years nor the impact of decline in the prices of the above urban-specific items is transmitted to the semi-urban and rural population of Pakistan, which constitutes around 67 percent of its total population. This does not truly reflect the impact of inflation rate on rural population. In other words, rural inflation rate might quiet significantly differ from that of the national inflation rate which over proportionately represents 65% of population living in urban areas.

**Conclusion**

Wisdom of publishing national economic accounting books and registers turns out to be more vivid when it depicts true picture of individuals and communities living in the country. It becomes further inevitable when the country is inhabited by an ethnically diversified population like Pakistan. Rosy national economic development figures of 7% or more GDP growth rate (ignoring who enjoys this growth and development and who pays for it?), single digit inflation rate (calculated using basket of goods in CPI which is highly urban-living standard biased) mean nothing for rural people who face a significantly higher inflation rate or whose living standard is unaffected from the widely advertised GDP growth rate. Nominal developments are never long lasting nor self-sustaining. To have control over own policy making and planning to exploit resources, it is inexorable to have authentic and reliable information over...
past, present and future trends of our economic indicators. Only then we can manage to predict and estimate important relationships between different variables such as inflation and GDP, inflation and living standard, law and order and economic development, employment or in our case unemployment and crime and etc. That reliable piece of information can only be obtained after hiring highly skilled and unbiased personnel by government institutions for surveying and measuring the results deducted using complex and effective statistical tools. Simple percentages often fail to predict future trends and analyze previous records.

References:


Provincial Autonomy in Historical Perspective:  
Case Study of Sindh

By : Dr. Aman Memon

Historical analysis of the Pakistan movement adequately reveals that the issue of provincial autonomy remained the linchpin of the All India Muslim League’s (A.I.M.L.) struggle for the freedom movement. During the freedom struggle A.I.M.L. leadership, including Quaid-i-Azam Muhammed Jinnah, tirelessly struggled against the intrigues aimed at up-setting demographic composition of the provinces of Punjab and Bengal. Besides that, the AIML leadership courageously battled for the establishment of the new Muslim majority provinces of Sindh, N.W.F.P. and Baloachistan. During the freedom movement, the A.I.M.L. leadership consistently pleaded the case of separation of Sindh from the Bombay Presidency and demanded administrative reforms in the North West Frontier and Baloachistan. Analysing Jinnah’s support for the cause of Muslim majority provinces, David Page has correctly said that Mr. Jinnah had undertaken to secure better terms with the majority-provinces…having failed in that endeavours he could not …be true to his Muslim clients…”

In 1924, Muslim League session was held in Lahore. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammed Ali Jinnah presided over the session. This session strongly demanded the introduction of the federal form of government in India “with full and complete provincial autonomy.” Further, the session urged the government to introduce reforms in the N.W.F. Province and placing “this province, in all respects, in a position of equality with the other major provinces of India.” In 1925, AIML in its Aligarh session passed a resolution in favour of the separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency and demanded to constitute it as a separate province.
Throughout the history of freedom movement the A.I.M.L. showed its unshakeable commitment to struggle for the maximum provincial autonomy and minimal powers for the central government. From the All Parties National Congress of Calcutta session to Jinnah’s Fourteen Points, from the Round Table Conferences to Dr. Syed Abdul Latif’s scheme of Indian Federation and from Sir Sikandar Hayat’s scheme of two-tire Federation to Lahore Resolutions, A.I.M.L. solidly supported the cause of establishment of federal form of government with maximum provincial autonomy instead of unitary form of government.

**Simon Commission**

In 1927, the British Government appointed a commission headed by Sir John Simon to probe into Indian political crises and to formulate recommend for the future constitution of India. The Indian National Congress (I.N.C.) and A.I.M.L. boycotted the commission on the grounds that there was not a single Indian that had been included in the commission. Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of States to India, sharply reacted to the Indian rejoinder to the Simon Commission by saying that “the commission had to be pure British because Indians were incapable of arriving at an agreed solution as regards the constitution of India.” The Indian political elite accepted Sir Birkenhead’s challenge. Consequently, a committee—consisting the representatives from all shades of Indian polity including A.I.M.L., I.N.C., Hindu Mahasabha, Sikh League, Liberals and other political groups—was formed under the leadership of Motilal Nehru for the purpose to frame proposals for the future constitution of united India.

On 30th and 31st December 1927, Jinnah faction of A.I.M.L. met in Calcutta to nominate the subcommittee for the purpose to represent A.I.M.L. on the proposed National Convention, which was intended to frame the constitutional proposals. Besides nominating the representatives, the Calcutta session of the A.I.M.L. had also forwarded the charter of demands for the future constitution of united India in the form of a resolution, which emphasised the need of creating new Muslim majority provinces of Sindh, N.W.F.P. and Balochistan. In this resolution, the A.I.M.L. even compromised its traditional stance on separate electorate however, took a firm stand on the demand of the creation of new provinces of Sindh, N.W.F.P. and Balochistan. According to the resolution:

The Muslims will not accept any scheme involving the surrender of this valued right unless and until Sindh is actually made a separate province and the reforms aforesaid are actually introduced in the North-Western and Balochistan Provinces, and that when these requirements are fully satisfied, Muslims will be prepared to abandon separate electorates in favour of joint
electorates with reservation of seats fixed on the basis of population of the different communities…

Later on, in Delhi Muslim Proposals, the Muslim League leadership maintained almost the same position on the issues of separate electorate, provincial autonomy and the creation of the new Muslim majority provinces.

Nehru Report and Fourteen Points

In August 1928, Nehru Report was published. The report; on one hand, accepted the demands of Muslims for the creation of the provinces of the Sindh, N.W.F.P. and Baloachistan; on the other hand, it recommended highly centralised unitary form of government with residuary powers vested in the central government.

The immediate reaction of the Muslim leadership towards the report was very critical however, Jinnah’s response was very cautious. He advised the opponents of the report “not to rebel but to keep calm.” According to Khalid Bin Sayeed, Jinnah was even inclined to “accept the principle of joint electorates with reservation of seats recommended by the Nehru Report” but he firmly opposed Nehru report’s centripetal scheme of central government.

On 28 December 1928, the All Parties Convention was held at Calcutta for the purpose to consider the Nehru Report. In the Calcutta session of the All Parties Convention, Jinnah critically evaluated Nehru Report with particular reference to the Muslim League’s demands of provincial autonomy and loose federation. Finally he suggested the following three amendments in the report:
1. Reservation of one-third seats in the Central Legislative for the Muslims.
2. Residual powers should be vested in the Provinces.
3. Muslim representation in the provinces of Punjab and Bengal should be made on the basis of population.

The house rejected all amendments forwarded by Jinnah because “the Congress leaders were not willing to accept the weak center that the Jinnah proposal envisioned.” Refusal by the All Parties Convention to accommodate Jinnah’s amendments in the Nehru Report, caused disappointment and disillusionment among the Muslims. On 1 January 1929, All India Muslim Conference was held in Delhi under the Presidentship of the Aga Khan. Besides the demand of retention of separate electorate the Conference also urged for the formation of the federal form of government with “complete autonomy and residual powers vested in the constituent states.” Later on, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammed Ali Jinnah in his famous Fourteen Points re-emphasised the need of framing the future
Constitution of united India on the basic principles of loose federation with the residual powers vested in provinces. Further, he pleaded for the separation of Sindh from Bombay and the introduction of reforms in N.W.F. and Baloachistan provinces.\textsuperscript{xv}

**Round Table Conference and the 1935 Act**

The failure of the British (in form of Simon Commission) and Indians (in form of All Parties Convention) in their endeavours to formulate the constitutional proposals, paved the way for a broader consultation of all segments of the Indian polity including the representatives of the Princely States in form of the Round Table Conference (R.T.C.). In October 1929, Lord Irwin announced the decision of holding R.T.C. with the commitment to attain the Dominion status for India. R.T.C. also failed to reach any consensus on the future constitution of India. Later on, in March 1933, the Government presented its own version of the constitution proposals on the basis of the R.T.C. deliberations in form of a white paper, which was presented before the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of the British Parliament to make recommendations for the future constitution of India. In December 1934, on the basis of the Joint Select Committee’s recommendations, a bill was presented in the Parliament and duly passed. After the Royal Assent, it was introduced as the Government of India Act 1935. Despite the fact that this Act promised to constitute Sindh as a separate province of British India and introduced several provisions regarding Provincial autonomy but fell short of the Muslim League demand of complete provincial autonomy. Muslim League’s reaction to the 1935 Act was very harsh. The annual session of A.I.M.L., held in Bombay, denounced the 1935 Act and proclaimed it as “fundamentally bad … most reactionary, retrograde, injurious and fatal to the vital interests of British India…”\textsuperscript{xvi} The Bombay session of A.I.M.L. condemned provincial scheme of the Act because, instead of vesting residuary powers in Provinces, the 1935 Act vested them in the Governor-General to be executed in his discretion.\textsuperscript{xvii} Commenting on the provincial scheme, the Bombay session resolution says:

The League considers that having regarded to the conditions prevailing at present in the country the Provincial scheme of the Constitution be utilised for what it is worth in spite of the most objectionable feature contained therein, which render the real control and responsibility of the Military and the Legislative over the entire field of the Government and the administration nugatory.\textsuperscript{xviii}

The 1935 Act could not solve the constitutional problems of India. In 1938, the Sindh chapter of the Muslim League met in Karachi and adopted a resolution under the presidency of the Quaid-I-Azam Muhammed Ali Jinnah showing its dissatisfaction with the working of the Federal Schemes of the 1935 Act.
The Conference records its emphatic disapproval of the scheme of the All-India Federation as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, and is opposed to its introduction and urge upon the British Government to refrain from its enforcement as it considers the scheme to be detrimental to the interests of the people of India generally and those of the Muslims in particular.\textsuperscript{xx}

Further, the conference recommended “the All-India Muslim League to devise a scheme of constitution under which Muslims may attain full independence.”\textsuperscript{xx}

1940 Resolution

In pursuance of the Sindh Muslim League resolution, in 1940, A.I.M.L. in its twenty-seventh annual session passed a resolution, which is commonly known as the Pakistan Resolution. In this resolution A.I.M.L. demanded to establish “independent states in which” constituent units would be “autonomous” and “sovereign.” The Lahore Resolution reads:

It is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which Muslims are in majority as in North-western and eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute “Independent States” in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.\textsuperscript{xxi}

Cabinet Mission Proposals

Later on, in 1946, A.I.M.L. compromised its position on the demand of the creation of a separate state—Pakistan—when its leadership accepted the Cabinet Mission proposals,\textsuperscript{xxii} which promised a very flexible federal form of government—Indian Union— in which constituent units have full autonomy, and freedom of entering and exiting proposed federating units. The Cabinet Mission proposed a loose federation of the Indian Union, empowered the center to deal with only three subjects—Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communication. All residuary subjects were vested in the provinces. The proposed Indian Union consisting of three groups of federating units A, B and C. Group A and B, consisting of the Hindu majority and Muslim majority provinces respectively, whereas group C comprising of the provinces of Bengal and Assam. The provinces were given free choice to “opt out of groups in which they were placed if the legislatures of those provinces decided to do so after the first general election under the new constitution.”\textsuperscript{xxiii} It seems that the Muslim League leadership accepted the Cabinet Mission proposals because they were in synonymity with their
historical stance of loose federation with maximum provincial autonomy. The Cabinet Mission proposals could not deliver because of the deep desire of the Congress leadership to form a highly centralised government. Despite the fact that the Congress leadership accepted the constitutional scheme but they seem reluctant to implement it in letter and spirit. Consequently, they started misinterpreting the scheme, which diminished the hope of positive results. M. K. Gandhi, in a statement, maintained that the Cabinet Mission plan was nothing more than ‘‘an appeal and advice’ and that the constituent assembly, as sovereign body, could vary the plan, by adding to the jurisdiction of the central government or by abolishing the distinction between the Muslims and non-Muslims!” Later on “the Congress Working Committee in its resolution of May 24 dutifully followed the line indicated by Gandhi, and demanded a transfer of power to a Hindu dominated legislature.” Jawaharlal Nehru also talked about his intentions to undo with the grouping scheme of the proposal and maintained that the Congress leadership will “enter the Constituent Assembly completely unfettered by the agreement and free to meet all situation as they arise.” Later on, severe conflict occurred between the League and Congress, which led to the failure of the Cabinet Mission proposal and paved the way for the division of the Subcontinent and creation of Pakistan.

Centre Province Relations in Pakistan

After the creation of Pakistan, the 1935 Act—a viceregal piece of legislation—was adopted by the newly emerged state as the interim constitution with minor changes. The Muslim League leadership which had bluntly rejected the 1935 Act before the partition of the subcontinent and depicted it as the “fundamentally bad, most reactionary, retrograde, injurious and fatal” constitutional scheme for the people, after the independence adopted it as the main source of the laws of the land not only for the long period of nine years but later on they adapted it as the 1956 Constitution, which was nothing but the Domestic version of the 1935 Act.

After the independence, the Muslim League leaders used absolute power in nexus with the bureaucracy against the provincial autonomy. During the freedom movement the League leadership was very critical about the 1935 Act and depicted it as a highly centralised constitutional scheme, which enshrined discretionary power in the Governor-General as the head of the central government and in the Governors as the representatives of the Governor-General in provinces. According to the articles 102, 126(5), and 92(A), the Governor-General was empowered to impose emergency, to control the Provinces and appoint the Governor in the Provinces and to dismiss the provincial governments and impose Governor’s rule. The article 92(A) was frequently used by the central government during the Muslim League rule and the Governor’s rule was imposed on the Sindh and Bengal in 1951 and 1954 respectively.
During the freedom movement the A.I.M.L worked as the champion of the provincial rights but after the independence a paradigm shift had been witnessed in the A.I.M.L’s policies regarding the issue of provincial autonomy. In the Pakistan Resolution, the A.I.M.L in unequivocal terms promised ‘autonomous’ and ‘sovereign’ status of the provinces in the proposed federation—Pakistan. However, the post-independence events portrayed a diametrically opposite scenario. According to the G. M. Syed:

A look at the past will show that the principles enunciated in Dr. Iqbal’s presidential address to the All India Muslim League meeting in Allahabad in 1930, the Sindh Muslim League’s Resolution of 1938, the 1940 Lahore Resolution and the Sindh Assembly Resolution of March 3, 1943, have all been abandoned. The independence and sovereignty promised to the states joining Pakistan have been denied.xxx

Soon after the independence, the province of Sindh was denied the fundamental right of sharing power at the centre. In the first Cabinet of Pakistan not even a single member from Sindh was inducted.xxxi After two months, the Sindh Muslim League Parliamentary Party strongly reacted on the central government’s decision of depriving Sindh the right of sharing power in the centre and demanded Sindh’s due representation in the policy-making mechanism at federal level.

Separation of Karachi from Sindh

Another incident, which reflects the imperiousness of the Federal Government, was the decision of the Federal Government regarding the separation of Karachi from Sindh. The Provincial Government, the Provincial Legislature and the Sindh Muslim League bitterly reacted against Federal Government’s decision but Sindh’s voice fell on the deaf ear of the Federal Government and Karachi was separated from Sindh. The Sindh Premier, Ayub Khuhro “warned that it would be very dangerous… such development would have adverse repercussions for the Provincial Government and the people there.”xxxii

The Sindh Assembly, on 10th February 1948, unanimously resolved:

This Assembly records its apprehension and alarm at the contemplated move of the Pakistan Government to remove the City of Karachi from the control of the Sindh Administration and to place it under its own jurisdiction as a centrally administered area. This house, therefore, resolves that Karachi must not be handed over to the central administration at any cost, and further call upon the leader of the house and his cabinet colleagues to bring home to the Government of Pakistan that such step would not only cripple Sindh economically and politically, but would also constitute flagrant contravention of the Pakistan Resolution in Lahore in 1940, which
emphasizes the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the autonomous units constituting Pakistan.… xxxii

Notwithstanding the Sindh Legislative Assembly, Sindh Muslim League Council also condemned Federal Government’s move and appealed all its colleagues, members of the district and primary branches of the Muslim League and the representatives of Sindh in Federal Assembly and “very well-wisher of Sindh and Pakistan to do every thing in his power, to resist this unjust, impolitic and unwise move.” xxxiii

Not only at party and provincial assembly levels, Sindhis also strongly reacted against Federal Government’s decision at mass level. The Sindh Hari Committee, representatives of the Local Bodies, journalists, lawyers, writers, teachers and students also registered their protest against the Federal Government’s highhandedness. xxx All these endeavours proved futile. The Federal Government, instead of responding peoples’ cry and honouring representative institutions’ resolution, hatched an in-house coup against the Sindh Premier, Ayub Khuhro. Two of the Ministers of Khuhro Government, Pir Illahi Bakhsh and Ghulam Ali Talpur rose against Khuhro and leveled sixty-two allegations of corruption against him. Consequently, on 26 April 1948, the latter was dismissed on the charges of corruption, misconduct and mal-practices. On 3rd May 1948, Pir Illahi Bakhsh was nominated as the Premier of Sindh and on 22nd May 1948, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan resolved that the “capital of Pakistan shall be located in Karachi, and that the executive and administrative authority inclusive of legislative powers shall be vested in, and exercised by the Federal Government.” xxxvi

Separation of Karachi from Sindh caused tremendous socio-economic and cultural loss to the provincial government. The Federal Government promised to pay 4500 million rupees (45 Crores rupees) as the compensation to the provincial government, but in vain. xxxv Besides the fact that the Federal Government took over the administrative control of Karachi but Sindh Government was compelled to bear the expenses of hospitals, colleges and Sindh Industrial Trading State infrastructure etc. located in the premises of the Karachi. These economic liabilities caused huge budget deficits of One Crore, 76 Lacs, and 85 thousand rupees for Sindh during the fiscal year 1949-1950. G. M. Syed in his court statement, commenting on the issue, maintains:

The Sindh Government had been promised that it would be paid Rs.12000 million in lieu of the houses, land and other works in Karachi. This was never done despite repeated reminders. But when the demand for compensation became more and more strident, the then refugee Prime Minister became angry and rejected the demand out of hand. xxxviii
Notwithstanding the economic loss, separation of Karachi caused immense socio-cultural problems for the Sindhi population of Karachi. “Hundreds of Sindhi Schools in the city were closed down and Sindhi language was banished from the University.”

Refugees Issue

Another issue, which became the cause of irritant between the Province of Sindh and the Federal Government, was the issue of the settlement of refugees in Sindh. The Ayub Khuho government accommodated hundreds of thousand of refugees in the province. Keeping in view the fragile demographic composition of Sindh and economic compulsions, the Government of Sindh refused to settle more immigrants particularly three hundred thousand East Punjab refugees. The Federal Government strongly reacted against Sindh Government’s decision. The Federal Finance Minister Chaudhry Ghulam Muhammed, addressing the Federal Legislature, proclaimed Sindh Government’s decision “inhumane” and based on hatred against non-Sindhi. Ayub Khuho portrayed a different picture of the issue. According to Khuho, the refugees, who had migrated from India to Karachi, “conspired with local Police officials who too belonged to U.P. and other Indian provinces ...like Bombay, C. P. and Bihar” and initiated riots against the Sikh and Hindu population of Karachi for the obvious intention to force these communities to evacuate more houses and shops for the allotment to the refugees. Qauid-i-Azam Muhammed Ali Jinnah denounced these riots and declared them as a ‘serious below’ to his prestige. However, Khuho’s endeavours of dealing rioters with an iron hand angered some quarters of the Federal Government consequently, they began thinking to get rid of Khuho Government and took administrative control of the city for the purpose to fulfill their agendas. Suhail Zaheer Lari has also endorsed the view that one of the reasons of taking control of Karachi was Khuho’s refusal of accepting more refugees.

One Unit Scheme

On 5 October 1955, the provinces of Sindh, Punjab, N.W.F.P.; Chief Commissioner’s Province of Bloachistan and Baloachistan State Union; Karachi and the States of Khairpur and Bahawalpur were merged into a unified administrative unit (One Unit) called West Pakistan Province. With the advent of One Unit, Sindh and other provinces lost their political identity. A.I.M.L. played significant role in shaping Sindh’s political identity when the former struggled for the latter’s political and administrative independence from the Bombay Presidency. In consequence of A.I.M.L’s struggle, Sindh regained its political distinctiveness. Later on, Sindh used its political dynamism in shaping the political identity of Pakistan by playing pivotal role in the creation of Pakistan. However, after less than eight years, Pakistani political elite dented Sindh’s political face by imposing One Unit scheme. Despite that fact that during the freedom
movement, the constituent units of the future state of Pakistan were solemnly promised by A.I.M.L. leadership to maintain their autonomy and sovereignty.

Sindh, very strongly reacted against the One Unit Scheme at all levels. The Chief Minister of Sindh, Abdus Sattar Pirzado very courageously rose against the unification scheme. He “had not only himself opposed the scheme publicly but had also obtained the signature of 74 out of 110 members of the Assembly in support of his stand.” He was punished for the crime of not obliging the ruling elite of Pakistan. He was removed and replaced by Ayub Khuho who “had been disqualified for seven years under P.R.O.D.A.” He was rehabilitated and made the Chief Minister of Sindh in spite of the fact that he was not even a member of the Sindh Assembly. Ayub Khuho used all the administrative and political tactics to get the One Unit bill passed. He put behind the bars all the opponents of the One Unit Scheme including Abdus Sattar Pirzado, G. M. Syed, Pir Illahi Baksh and Kazi Fazlullah and several others. Subsequently, the provincial assembly passed the One Unit Bill on 11 December 1954.

**Conclusion**

The centre-province relations remained a determining variable in the chequered history of political and constitutional development of Pakistan. The historical analysis of the pre and post-independence issues and events reveal that during the freedom movement the Pakistani leadership remained staunch supporter of the maximum provincial autonomy and minimal powers for the central government. The A.I.M.L’s demand for provincial autonomy bordering to ‘independence and sovereignty’, magnetised the Muslim majority provinces of undivided India to join hands with the A.I.M.L. in its struggle for the creation of a new federation called Pakistan. However, the unfolding events of the post-independence era portray a different scenario. The A.I.M.L. leadership, instead of establishing promised loose federal form of government, framed a highly centralised state structure. This betrayal on the part of the A.I.M.L. leadership generated limitless political ills in the political system of Pakistan and made it inherently self-destructive. The 1971 incident of the dismemberment of Pakistan adequately endorses the above thesis.

**Notes and References**

Dr. Syed Abdul Latif suggested a very loose federal scheme in which centre had just four portfolios of Defence, Communication, Commerce and Foreign Affairs. For details see Khalid Bin Sayeed, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase 1857-1948*, (----:1967), p.108

Sir Sikandar Hayat suggested two-tier federation of seven zones. He also suggested allocation of just six subjects to the federal government–Defence, External Affairs, Communications, Customs and Currency. For details see ibid., p. 112.

Ibid., p. 68

Ibid.


Ibid., p. 264

Ibid., p. 71


Khalid Bin Sayeed, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase*, op. cit., p. 71


Ibid., p.136

G. Allana., op. cit., p. 196

Ibid.

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Development to Destroy Nature and Displace People

(Waterfront Development on Hawksbay)

Naseer Memon and Zubaida Birwani

In September 2006, Federal Government announced construction of Diamond Bar Island City on two islands i.e. Bundaar and Dingi on Karachi coast. A hefty investment of $43 billion was promised by a UAE based real estate concern Emaar. Concerned citizens of Sindh, civil society and political organizations of Pakistan and international conservation groups termed this project a threat to natural resources of Sindh Coast and livelihood of fishing communities in the vicinity. The project sparked a new controversy on development scene of the country. However it did not stop here and the government decided to embark upon its ambitious waterfront development plan in Karachi. Nascent civil society is still struggling with decades old strong vested interest, always ready to bulldoze all norms and laws in the name of development. The latest in the line is ecologically rich Hawksbay area on the western coast of Karachi. This greed driven paradigm of development is being projected as a sign of investor confidence in the country and the government is eager to offer red carpet welcome to every foreign investor. The ultra rich dominated socio-political structure of Pakistan has been a major beneficiary of bad governance, weak civil society and absence of social justice in country, which offers fertile ground to amass more wealth with every passing moment. Waterfront development is just another money making venture of the same corridors.

1. The Project

As usual government has not yet officially disclosed the details of the project. However media has been leaking some information on the project through news stories. Official websites of City District Government Karachi (CDGK) and the Limitless (Dubai based real estate developer involved in the project) also provide some information on the project.

According to the official website of the CDGK, the City Nazim of Karachi Syed Mustafa Kamal told journalists that master plan to construct a new city ‘Karachi Waterfront Sugar Land City’ at Hawkesbay has been finalized and it will be constructed on 60,000 acre with the estimated cost of US$68 billion. Responding a question, the Nazim said the President General Pervez Musharraf has approved the plan and this project will be a biggest project in the country to provide job opportunity to millions of people. He
added the concerned authorities have been issued NOC for the construction of new city at Hawkesbay. The meeting was also attended by federal minister for shipping Babar Ghori, Chief Minister Sindh, chief secretary Sindh, KPT chairman, representative of Nakheel Development and Chief Executive of Dubai Islamic Bank.

The website of Limitless explains the salient features of the project as under:

“The project is a joint initiative of Limitless and the Government of Pakistan to create a new, balanced waterfront development - Karachi Waterfront, on a 25,000 hectares site west of the existing city of Karachi. The “new city” would contain a defined and carefully weighted balance of residential, commercial, recreational and entertainment facilities in state of the art, master-planned communities. The development would also be home to Special Economic Zones creating a hub for trading, manufacturing and services industry supported by world-class infrastructure and amenities. Phase-1 of the project will involve an investment of $20 billion over the next ten years for developing more than 2000 hectares of prime water-front property. Subsequent phases of the project are expected to involve much larger investments.”


“The first announcement of the project came on Dubai World’s website on 5th June, 2006, where it stated that Limitless will develop the Karachi Waterfront project. This was followed by the news that a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) has been signed by Pakistan’s Minister of State and Privatization and Investment Umar Ahmad Ghuman and Dubai World chairman Sultan Bin Sulayman. The (MoU) was followed by a high-level meeting held in Islamabad on June 24, 2006, which was chaired by Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz. A number of important directives were given to different ministries including those of Ports and Shipping, Defence, as well as the government of Sindh. It was decided in this meeting that, since the area indicated by Dubai World is very large, the development may start in phases. According to the documents available, in the first phase Manora area, along with Sandspit and areas behind it in the Karachi Port Trust (KPT) western back waters, up to KPT’s land limits with Hawksbay, would be offered to the group. In the second phase, while developing the Hawksbay Beach front, it would be ensured that a few portions are left open for the general public for recreational purposes. It was proposed in the same meeting that there should be a proper mechanism for shifting the navy and cantonment board’s facilities located at Manora to the Navy land at Cape Monze area.

After the meeting, these directives were forwarded to the government of Sindh on 7th October, 2006. From here, the work gained momentum
according to the dates provided in the documents. There were reminders from the District Coordination Officer (DCO) City District Government Fazlur Rahaman to Executive District Officer (EDO) revenue, CDGK. This reminder termed the directives from the Prime Minister to be of ‘high priority’.

Throughout the above work, there has never been any ‘official’ announcement from the federal government related to the Sugarland City project. Nor were there any reports in the media related to this mega project. However, on 22nd February, 2007, City Nazim Syed Mustafa Kamal briefed journalists about the project and also gave details of the project being finalised with an agreement being signed in March 2007. It was also said that the project has the approval from the President. This was for the first time that the project was officially announced and got coverage by the media.

This project involves an area of 60,000 acres of area with a total investment of 68 billion US dollars that has been approved by the Federal government.

According to the latest reports on the project, notices have been issued to all those hut owners coming under the project’s jurisdiction. The notice states that all those huts that are in violation of the hut by-laws would have their leases cancelled with immediate effect whereas the leases of those huts that are not in violation will not be renewed as and when their term expires."

On 14th August, the national day of Pakistan, the Planning and Development department of Sindh Government invited Expression of Interests for the project. The same advertisement was placed in Daily Dawn, Karachi on 29th August 2007, this time including a note on extent of project area as 40,000 acres centered around Hawksbay. The document however does not provide any specific details of the project.

2. Dubai, the Key Player in Waterfront Development

UAE based real estate concerns are fast expanding their overseas investments after making wonders at home. UAE is known for its surplus capital earned through high scale commercial ventures and foreign investment. Past three decades have witnessed amazing real estate development in UAE specially in Dubai which has become a hub of commercial activities. Investors from all over the world are pouring money into Dubai’s business ventures. This has given tremendous boost to real estate activity.

The UAE companies have covered almost whole of their shoreline with sky scrappers and even penetrated in shallow waters to extend its coastline with towering structures. In recent years waterfront development has emerged as
According to a CNN report on 29th January 2005, His Highness Sheikh Mohammed announced the launch of Dubai Waterfront, the world's largest waterfront development under the direction of Sheikh Mohammed Bin Rashid Al Maktoum, the then Crown Prince of Dubai and UAE. The Dubai Waterfront is planned to cover an 81 million square metre beachfront. Destined to become an international landmark, Dubai Waterfront is the world's largest waterfront offering, and is located 35 km south west of Dubai, bordering Abu Dhabi, on the last remaining coastal waterfront of the Emirate. The Dubai Waterfront will extend Dubai's coastline by 820 kilometers, twelve times the length of its current coastline. It will consist of 440 square kilometers of water and land developments, an area seven times the size of Manhattan. It is expected to house 400,000 people. Dubai Marina, The Palm Jumeirah, The World and Jabel Ali are the jewels in the crown of waterfront development of Dubai, whose glittering pictures mark all around the local and international newspapers, billboards and websites. Local newspapers every day carry dozens of pages with advertisement of real estate ventures and this is probably the fastest thriving business in the area.

There is no dearth of capital in UAE. A booming economy and high oil revenues helped create 9,100 new millionaires (in dollars) in the UAE only last year, taking their total to 68,100 in UAE. This was revealed in 11th Annual World Wealth Report released on 27th June 2007. Likewise Saudi millionaires grew to 89,600 in the same year.

According to the same report “globally the number of people possessing $1 million or more in investible assets rose 8.3 percent in 2006 to 9.5 million. Wealth of the world’s rich increased 11.4 percent to $37.2 trillion last year. Dubai is one of the potential areas to invest this huge capital and the real estate is the most favorite funnel to pour the dollars in. Global direct real estate transaction volumes reached $ 682 billion last year. In 2006 these millionaires shifted money into real estate at times liquidating some of their assets to fund these real estate opportunities. Global direct real estate transaction volumes reached $682 billion in 2006, up by 38% from 2005”.

Possessing this scale of experience and capital, Dubai’s investors are now set to capture new coasts. After accumulating wealth and acquiring experience, Dubai’s companies are now exploring new shores to multiply their fortune. Waterfront development is a major area of their interest and Pakistan in the immediate neighborhood seems an ideal place with long virgin shores and investment thirsty government.

According to a CNN report on 1st June 2006, Dubai World, Dubai’s largest holding company is planning to invest projects worth $10 billion in Pakistan across different industries including infrastructure development, industrial and real estate projects. This includes the construction of a modern waterfront off the Karachi coastline, besides the development and
management of Pakistani ports. An announcement to this effect was made in a ceremony in Islamabad in the presence of His Highness Sheikh Mohammed Bin Rashid Al Maktoum, Vice President and Prime Minister of the UAE and Ruler of Dubai, and Mr. Shaukat Aziz, Prime Minister of Pakistan.

During the ceremony, two agreements were signed between UAE and Pakistan - the first aimed at developing infrastructure and building commercial and industrial real estate projects. The second agreement was targeted at building free zones and modern ports which will be managed by DP World, the region's leading port and terminal operators.

Sultan Ahmed Bin Sulayem, Executive Chairman of Dubai Ports, Customs and Free Zone Corporation and Chairman of Nakheel, signed the agreements with the Pakistani Minister of Transport and Minister of Foreign Investments.

Commenting on the agreements, Sultan Ahmed Bin Sulayem said: 'Dubai World is targeting massive investments in various sectors including real estate projects in main cities across Pakistan. Dubai World, through Limitless Company - its international real estate development arm - will lead and execute investments in residential real estate sector as Pakistan lacks residential units of high quality. Limitless will bridge the gap through its expertise in the sector. In addition, Limitless will also develop real estate, entertainment and commercial projects in different regions in Pakistan. Based on the extensive expertise we have in developing waterfronts, we will work on preparing detailed studies to build waterfront in Karachi - an integrated community that will be the first-of-its-kind in the Indian subcontinent. The development will encompass world-class residential and commercial buildings, shopping centres and entertainment facilities similar to the projects that Dubai is renowned to develop.'

Dubai Port World and the Pakistani government are now working closely to finalize the details of the agreements for the company to start managing and operating Qasim Port, one of the most important and active ports in Pakistan in order to develop its operations and modernize its systems to embrace the economic and trade growth currently being witnessed in Pakistan and to make it work according to international standards that Dubai is known for.

Prior to this in May 2006 Sultan Bin Sulayem, Chairman of Dubai World, met with the President of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf, in Islamabad to discuss potential areas of cooperation between Dubai World and Pakistan.
The two parties agreed to jointly explore investments in various fields, including real estate developments in major urban centers across Pakistan. Nakheel, a fully-owned subsidiary of Dubai World and the developer of several of Dubai's iconic projects such as the Palms, The World and Dubai Waterfront, will spearhead efforts on this front and explore investments in the residential, commercial and leisure real estate sectors in Pakistan. Dubai World and the Government of Pakistan also discussed potential cooperation and investment in other commercial activities including development and management of industrial infrastructure, including industrial parks and free zones, and development and operation of public sector infrastructure projects, including oil & gas related projects, airports and port and terminal management.

Speaking on the occasion, Sultan Bin Sulayem said "Pakistan is one of the world's fastest growing economies making it an attractive market for Dubai World. We have a close relationship with Pakistan and would like to further strengthen it by capitalizing on opportunities in the country. The Middle East has a huge potential investor base for investments into Pakistan.

President General Pervez Musharraf welcomed Sultan Bin Sulayem to Pakistan and promised to provide the full support of the Government to facilitate Dubai World's investments in the country. He was quoted as saying "We are delighted to welcome Dubai World to Pakistan and are very excited about the prospect of Dubai World undertaking major projects in the country.

This is how Dubai based companies have been making their entry in Pakistan in a big way during the recent years. Dubai World, Nakheel, Limitless and Dubai Islamic Bank are actively involved in furthering UAE’s investment interests in Pakistan. These names have started appearing Pakistani media over recent years. A brief profile of each would give an idea of their future role in the country.

2.1 Dubai World

Official website of Dubai World defines it in these words. “Dubai World was launched as one of the world's largest holding companies under the decree ratified on 2nd March 2006 by Sheikh Mohammed Bin Rashid Al Maktoum, Ruler of Dubai, UAE Vice President and Prime Minister. It was launched as world's leading holding companies, with over 45,000 employees in over 75 cities around the world.

Comprised of development, investment, marine services, commodities and ports and free zone divisions, Dubai World is a powerful growth engine with an unprecedented collection of companies including: DP World, P&O,
Jafza, Dubai Drydocks, Maritime City, Dubai Multi Commodities Centre, Kerzner, One & Only, Atlantis, Island Global Yachting, Limitless, Nakheel, Istithmar, Inchcape Shipping Services, Tejari, Technopark and Tamweel”.

Led by Sultan Ahmed Bin Sulayem, Dubai World was established to continue expanding Dubai's aggressive growth, domestically and abroad. It owns some iconic projects in Dubai like The Palm, extensive real estate investment in New York and London, unique hospitality destinations in every corner of the world, and a growing global port footprint from China to Peru.

2.2 Nakheel

Nakheel is a UAE government owned corporation, founded in 1990. With its head quarter in Dubai, it now serves in 87 countries. In 2006 it generated revenue of 70 billion dollars and earned a net income of 15.8 billion dollars. It has 2000 employees on board.

Nakheel is a real estate developer in Dubai and creator of several land reclamation projects, including the Palm Islands, the Dubai Waterfront, and The World. Its residential projects include Jebel Ali Gardens, International City, Jumeirah Islands and Jumeirah Lake Towers. Its shopping projects include the Dragon Mart (At International City) and Ibn Battuta Mall. Its main competitor in residential development in Dubai is Emaar Properties.

Nakheel's flagship properties are the three man-made palm tree shaped islands on the coast of Dubai. Nakheel operates under the umbrella of Dubai World, which manages various businesses on behalf of the Dubai government.

2.3 Limitless

Limitless, an off shoot of Nakheel was established in July 2005, with the key objective of diversifying and globalizing Dubai’s portfolio by leveraging the know-how and exposure gained by Dubai World’s real estate initiatives. Limitless LLC, a Dubai World Company, is an integrated global real estate developer. It lays claim to three specific areas of expertise that provide the company with a competitive advantage – master planning large urban communities, waterfront development and the implementation of large-scale balanced projects.

2.4 Dubai Islamic Bank

Dubai Islamic Bank (DIB) was established in 1975. In the first half of 2007 its net profit rose to 1.5 billion UAE dirham (approx 24 billion rupees), an increase of 113 per cent compared to the corresponding period in 2006.
Recently, DIB was ranked among the fastest-moving banks in the world for the second consecutive year in the annual Top 1,000 World Bank list published by ‘The Banker’ magazine.

In Pakistan it started its business in March 2005. A Dubai Islamic Bank (DIB) delegation led by Dr. Mohamed Khalfan bin Khirbash, UAE Minister of State for Finance and Industry and Chairman of DIB, announced the establishment of DIB Pakistan Limited, a wholly owned subsidiary of DIB, at a ceremony hosted by Pakistan Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz in Islamabad.

3. The Project Area

According to the “Request for Proposal” (RFP) document issued by the Planning and Development Department along with inviting Expression of Interest, the project area is located around Hawksbay at western coastline of Karachi. In section-IV of the document, the geographical coverage has been vaguely described as “The Karachi Waterfront Development project comprises a large tract of land to be developed at western coastline of Karachi centered around Hawks Bay, Karachi Pakistan with an estimated available or to be made available land and measuring approximately 40,000 acres”. This does not suggest any specific location of the project.

This vagueness is also evident from the introductory note given in the beginning of the document. It reads “The approximate total land within the proposed area will be a minimum of 40,000 acres (19047.53 acres available Government of Sindh land, 21037.15 acres of land on short lease subject to cancellation) all of which is not contiguous. There are pockets of land in the proposed Development Area that are not owned by any government entity or agency, and the selected developer will be expected to work with the government entities and agencies and with the actual owners of the land to acquire or find other viable mutually-beneficial and mutual agreeable solutions for these pockets of land.” This clearly indicates that the project will be spread all around the Hawks Bay area and not restricted to any particular part of the area.

4. Threat to Eco-system

Hawksbay homes the ecologically rich sandy beach Sandspit. About five kilo meters long this sandy strip hosts unique eco-system of endangered green turtle. This is a major breeding point of the green turtle. Sindh Wildlife Department and World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) has been working on conservation of green turtles since many years.

Marine turtles have been included in the WWF - Pakistan strategic plan known as ‘Species of Special Concern’. Globally, there are eight species of
marine turtles and they are all have been classified as endangered. Green Turtle (Chelonia mydas) and Olive Ridley Turtle (Lepidochelys olivacea) are the two species of marine turtles that nest along the Sandspit and Hawkesbay beaches at the Karachi coast. All species of marine turtles are listed in the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES). Pakistan is a signatory to CITES, which prohibits trade of turtles, turtle parts and eggs. The Government of Sindh has also declared Marine Turtles as ‘Protected’ species. Mega construction schemes may not only disturb this fragile eco-system but may also completely devoid this area from green turtles if proper environmental management is not carried out.

In the backwaters, mangroves ecosystem provides resting place to a variety of migratory birds. Noisy construction work and enhanced vehicular movement will cause deterrence to migratory birds and they may abandon this area. The area owned by KPT has mangroves and vegetation cover spread over 400-500 hectares (over 1000 acres). The mangrove eco-system has multiple benefits including resting place for migratory birds and nursery for shrimp and several fish species. Local fishing communities also use these forests for fodder and fuel. Mangrove eco-system in Indus Delta is poorly managed and severely threatened. Projects like Diamond Bar and Sugar Land City can cause severe damage to this eco-system. In past KPT projects like Mai Kulachi road and other infrastructural work along the shore has caused severe damage to mangroves.

As appears from the RFP document, Waterfront development is not a single project but it is an amalgamation of several fragmented projects. It is worth mentioning here that the Karachi coast homes an integrated fragile and complex eco-system involving vanishing mangroves, dwindling fish species and fast disappearing migratory birds. Any development schemes of such scale would have potential negative impact on its eco-system. Also these developments will have far reaching impacts on livelihood of coastal communities. These communities earn their livelihood through beach related leisure activities and subsistence fishing. The waterfront development is bound to bring drastic changes in their centuries old lifestyle. The project proponents are only making hollow claims of compensating and benefiting the local communities without giving any substantial details. Such type of development can have multifarious social environmental impacts.

The RFP document makes it obligatory to conduct Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) of the project. However it may be noted that the whole development package on Karachi Coast will have cumulative impact on coastal eco-systems. Therefore project based EIAs may not depict true picture of environmental and social impacts. It requires Strategic Impact Assessment (both social and environmental) to take holistic picture of likely impacts on natural resources and local communities. Although the Environmental Protection Act of 1997 calls for EIA of such projects but it is
not in sight so far. Environmental regulation in the country and in Sindh particularly, is very weak. Environmental Protection Agency in Sindh is in shambles. A news story carried by daily Dawn (25\textsuperscript{th} Sept 07) reveals the lack of qualified and trained people in Sindh EPA. Political intervention has reduced this organization to an ineffective entity. Knowing the capacity and credibility of environmental regulators in country, one can easily guess the degree of ease with which environmental rituals can be fulfilled by the mighty money masters.

5. Community Perspective

Hawksbay is home to most under developed centuries old villages of fishing communities. Predominantly Sindhi and Balochi speaking communities are living in this area even before the British Raj. Manoro was the original Karachi, where a fort wall defined the boundary of Karachi at the time of British occupation in 1843.

Even after six decades of independence, these villages are deprived of very basic facilities. Infrastructure and other social sector services like drinking water, health and education are in its worst shape. Presently there are two union councils on the Hawks bay, namely Gabo Pat and Baba Island. The Gabo Pat Union Council has more than 100 goths, some of them more than a century old. Total population in this union council is over one hundred thousand people. Some of the villages have sizable population like Abdul Rehman goth (8,000) and Faqeer Mohammad goth (3000). There are 9 Dehs in the union council. Only two dehs (Lal Bakhar and Gound Pas) have water supply system, that too not reliable. Remaining seven dehs have no any drinking water facility provided by the city government. They occasionally receive water tankers. Out of 8 Basic Health Units only one is properly functioning, another is partially functional and all others do not function. Local communities have very limited transport facilities to reach the heart of city. Only two buses ply every day to commute people to Lea Market.

Baba Island Union Council comprises of three big islands namely Baba Island (16,000 population), Bhit Island (12,000 population) and Shams Pir Island (3,000 population). There are some large villages like Younisabad (3,500 population) and Kaka Pir (1,000 people). Centuries old Islands and villages in this union council are also deprived of basic human needs such as drinking water. It is strange that the government never concentrated to develop these old heirs of Karachi and kept them in centuries old state of life. Local communities of Hawksbay area have not been consulted on the project and no information has been shared with them. The centuries old villages are now feared to be dislodged.

Hawksbay is among the most beautiful resort places in the country. Thousands of visitors frequent beautiful locations such as Cap Mounz,
French Beach and Paradise Point on the Hawksbay. Once the city of rich is erected, no common man would have easy access to these charming views of nature. This will also deprive hundreds of daily wage earners at these picnic points. A number of huts constructed in the area would also be demolished. These huts are owned by some individuals and private companies. Local people are hired as caretakers on these huts. If these huts are removed and people stopped visiting picnic points, several hundred local villagers will lose their livelihood resources.

Local communities have genuine concerns that they would be dislodged from their ancestral abodes to pave the way for constructing the modern city. According to a report of Urban Resource Centre, Karachi more than 23,575 houses (excluding houses and shops demolished in the Lyari riverbed due to the Lyari Expressway Project) have been bulldozed by various government agencies since 1992. As a result of these evictions 185,801 people have been displaced. During the period of Jan – May 2006, the government bulldozed over 3,490 houses in the various parts of the city. A total of 23,124 people were made homeless as result of these evictions. In recently implemented mega projects of Layari Expressway about 25,000 families have been displaced. Majority of them is suffering on many accounts such as compensation, resettlement, loss of employment and breakage of social relations.

As appears from the official documents, the project requires 40,000 acres of land the government has only 19047.53 acres available, that too is not contiguous. This indicates that over 21,000 acres of land would need to be managed in different parts and this may result in non-volunteer displacement of poor communities. The project document has indicated towards this in sugar coated language “There are pockets of land in the proposed Development Area that are not owned by any government entity or agency, and the selected developer will be expected to work with the government entities and agencies and with the actual owners of the land to acquire or find other viable mutually-beneficial and mutual agreeable solutions for these pockets of land”.

Such fears become more acute in absence of any sharing/consultation with local communities. It has become almost a norm in the country to keep information about all big projects confidential from citizens particularly the potential affectees. In this case also all plans are being made behind the close doors and local communities are still unaware of the project and its likely impacts. No consultation with civil society or local communities has been conducted and every thing is shrouded in mystery. This attitude towards development creates genuine concerns among the citizens about these initiatives.

6. History of Development on Karachi Coast
Historical facts reveal that the modern Karachi has been developed at the cost of livelihood of fishing communities. The process started before partition and gained momentum after partition. With rapid influx of population from India, whole landscape of the city went through drastic changes. Major development initiatives along the coasts such as Port Qasim, Fish Harbors, Steel Mill and various phases of Defence Housing Society, all took the toll of natural resources of coastal communities. The proponents of these projects promised employment and other benefits to affected communities but ended up with only marginalizing coastal villages. Coastal communities have bitter experience of development activities.

A recently published book “Karachi Sindh Jee Marui”, authored by Mr. Gul Hassan Kalmati narrates the plight of coastal communities in the wake of major development projects. According to the author, in 1974, Pakistan Steel Mill was founded. 18,660 acres of land were acquired from 500 land owners and 200 lease holders. About 15 villages were swollen by the mill, namely Syed Mahmood Shah, Ahmed Gabol, Thaenr Gabol, Haji Amir Ali, Saatal Jokhio, Achar Jokhio, Shaikh Jokhio, Dur Mohammad Jokhio, Soomar Kalmati, Alu Khaskheli, Soolan Gabol, Haji Natho Kalmati, Haji Meenhan Wasayo and Khanto goth. These villages were rich in pastures, livestock and fisheries. Affectees were offered one rupee per square yard for owned land, 1500 rupees for a pacca house and 600-1000 rupees for katcha house. Affectees approached the court, which decreed in their favor and new rates were announced but villagers were never paid the same. Till 1974 some 25,000 regular and more than 4000 temporary staff was employed in the Mill. Displaced villagers were only 35 among them and now reduced to 16 only. Ministry of Production also issued a letter number PD/JSA/3076/79 on 16th May 1979 promising employment for local villagers but it never happened. A number of industrial units are operating in the area, having more than 30,000 employees but hardly two dozen local villagers are among them.

Port Qasim Authority is another empire built on the bulldozed remains of coastal villages. The Prot was inaugurated in 1975. At that time 20,000 acres land was acquired on coast and another 15,000 acres were acquired from Sindh government. The port erased 35 villages namely Mohammad Suleman, Haji Umeed Ali, Thoohar Panhwar, Jatan Jo Goth, All Bakhsh, Abdul Rehman, Misri Mohammad, Qasim, Mola Bakhsh Baloch, Abul Latif, Haji Mohammad Hassan, Khan Mohammad, Ashraf, Saanwan, Noor Mohammad, Shoukat Ali, Rahim Dino, Abdul Razaq, Nabi Bakhsh, Mehaar, Mevo, Ali Akber, Nawab Baloch, Karam Ali, Dinu, Mohammad Rahim, Aahmed Khan, Karam Khan, Ali Khan, Moorand Kalmati, Umed Ali Gabol, Mohammad Khan, Wasan Khan, Ghulam Mohammad and Allah Bachayo. Board of Revenue and the Port Qasim Authority signed an agreement on 11th May 1981 promising that all affectees will receive compensation and will be resettled before displacing them. However only one village received some compensation and the remaining 34 never
received any benefit. From 1974 to 1990, the Port Authority employed 2200 persons; only 79 were from the affected villages. Port Qasim Authority ignored almost every agreement and instructions from Sindh government on local employment. The authority acquired villages for port activities but now the same land is being allotted to private concerns for commercial purposes. Hundreds of production units are operating on the same land but villagers never received any benefit of this development on their land. Now Port Qasim Authority is bent upon selling two islands Dingi and Bundaar to deprive fishing communities from their remaining sources of livelihood.

These are only the glimpses from the long story of injustice meted out to coastal communities ever since the country appeared on globe. Being marginalized and politically weak the peaceful villagers of coast have always been made the victim of development. This history of ruthless development has created a sense of insecurity among the coastal communities ever since they have heard the drumbeat of new development.

7. Development Ethics

The concept of Triple Bottom Line is a corner stone of sustainable development. Any development initiative which prefers only one “P” i.e. “profit” and ignore the other two i.e. “People” and “Planet” does not qualify the fundamentals of sustainable development. Sadly the waterfront development has all its focus on profits and there is no care for its impacts on people and nature. The concept of development ethics explains the reason for creating aforementioned balance. David Crocker of University of Maryland at College Park in his paper “International Development Ethics” explains this concept succinctly. “Development’ can be used both descriptively and normatively. In the descriptive sense, 'development' is usually identified as the processes of economic growth, industrialization, and modernization that result in a society's achieving a high (per capita) gross domestic product. So conceived, a 'developed' society may be either celebrated or criticized. In the normative sense, a developed society, ranging from villages to national and regional societies, is one whose established institutions realize or approximate (what the proponent believes to be) worthwhile goals—most centrally, the overcoming of economic and social deprivation”.

Regrettably most of the development projects in our country negate these basic definitions of modern concepts of development. The country carries the baggage of a terrible history of mega projects. Displacement of local communities, lack of appropriate resettlement and compensation plans coupled with massive corruption in compensation process, damage to eco-system and worsening social inequalities are only few of the many negative impacts of mega projects experienced in the country. Tarbela Dam, Chotiari Dam and Left Bank Outfall Drain Project are only few examples to quote. Socio-political structure of society and poor governance has always
benefited the rich in this country at the cost of poor. Every mega project benefits the privileged echelon and deprives the already deprived segments of society. Hence development initiatives of this scale always widens the gape between haves and have nots in the country thus results in increased social strain.

Citizens of Karachi enjoy very few recreational opportunities. Therefore developing coast for public recreation is not a bad idea as long as it provides equal opportunities of healthy recreation to every citizen. However waterfront development is not meant for ordinary citizen, it is only meant for elite who can afford access to expensive recreation.

Had development been the objective, government would have first invested to improve lives of people living in coastal village. These villages give a primitive look and by no means they look like a part of Karachi Metropolitan. During past sixty years, this country could not give them basic human facilities. Even the leading Urban NGOs working on poverty alleviation always preferred working in katchi abadies and very few worked for social uplift of communities in these villages.

Karachi city itself is a home to numerous problems and a large population lives life full of sufferings and miseries. Their development should be the first priority rather than investing billions to create dream islands for elite. The following facts about state of development in Karachi explain the reason for the need to revisit development priorities.

- Citizens do not receive adequate drinking water from pipelines and they pay 1.8 billion rupees to private tankers every year. (Dawn-24th June 07)
- 45% of drinking water is wasted due to poor infrastructure (Dawn-14th Feb 07)
- Karachi produces 9000 tons of garbage daily. Two third of which does not reach any ultimate disposal. (Dawn-22nd Nov 06)
- Karachi has only one snorkel of over 100 ft length to fight fire in high rises, which also remains out of order (Dawn-7th Jan 07).
- Karachi Fire Department had 74 tenders in 1995 and today it has only 20 tenders (Dawn-31st Aug 2007)
- 5,000 manholes are without cover in the city, posing threat to lives (Dawn-20th Sept 07)
- A low intensity rainfall inundates majority roads and streets of Karachi
- Karachi has been placed at 175th number out of 215 leading cities on quality of life index. In 2006 it was slightly better at 170th number. Delhi, Mumbai and Dhaka fared better than Karachi on this scale. (Dawn-2nd July 07)
• 29,400 mobile phones were snatched in Karachi during the first eight months of 2006 (Dawn, 16th Sept 06)
• During first three months of 2006, total 8,800 cars and motor bikes were snatched/stolen in Karachi (Dawn-14th Oct 06)
• Karachi generates about 400 raw sewage every day out of which only 85 MGD is treated and over 300 million gallons of untreated sewage from Karachi is released to marine eco system on daily basis (25th April 07)
• Pollution at Karachi Harbor causes an annual loss of 1 billion dollars to Pakistan Navy.
• Air and water pollution have crossed national and international quality standards (Dawn-20th July 2006)

This list of grim facts can go virtually endless. While citizens are not getting even very basic human facilities, there is hardly any justification of investing huge amounts in luxurious projects. One can easily guess the intentions behind these projects, which are only meant to create islands of prosperity in the ocean of deprivation and dejection.

Social development indicators particularly of health, education, drinking water and sewerage are pathetically poor in the country. In many social sector areas we lag behind SAARC countries and in some others even stand below the poor countries of Africa. Taking just an example of housing, the country needs 6.2 million new housing units to provide shelter to every citizen. Urban areas of Sindh require 135,000 new housing units to meet the present need and 200,000 units each year over a decade to clear the housing backlog. Rather than investing in housing for low income shelter less citizens, huge sum of money is being committed for ultra rich elite through such projects in the name of development. Has there been any genuine commitment with the development of people, huge investment would have been made to improve state of human development in rural and urban areas of Pakistan.

8. Future Scenario

Human greed has damaged the nature to alarming proportions. The degree of tempering with nature’s balances has surpassed all limits and now it is the turn of nature to take its toll. Recent changes in climatic patterns have proved that development along the coast would be the most vulnerable.

It would be pertinent to quote here a report *Human tide: the real migration crisis* issued in May 2007 “Over a billion people, one in seven on earth could be forced from their homes between now and 2050 if the climate change worsens. Conflicts, large scale development projects and widespread environmental deterioration will combine to make life unsupportable for
hundreds of millions of people mostly in Sahara belt, South Asia and the Middle East. Forced migration is now the most urgent threat facing poor people in the developing world. Over 155 million people are already displaced by conflicts, disasters and large scale projects.

Climate change has started manifesting in various shapes. Rising sea level, tsunamis and cyclones would make the problem acute if natural shields like mangroves are removed to create artificial islands and coastlines. Infrastructure and public services in Karachi can ill afford any natural calamity like cyclone. Over past two years moderate rains have brought disastrous impacts on city life. In May 1999 cyclone A 02 and in June 2007 cyclone Yemyin just passed by Karachi. These cyclones brought severe damage to life and property in Gujrat (India) and Balochistan. A fraction of that disaster would have played havoc with Karachi. Development along the coast needs to be carefully weighed against the possible climatic horrors. No matter how advanced technology is employed, development would still remain vulnerable to natural catastrophes. Preservation of natural eco system offers the most reliable shield against natural disasters. Karachi coast is being fast denuded from its precious mangroves cover, exposing the city to nature’s wrath. Such madness in the name of development would pave the way for future disasters, impact of which would be beyond our imagination.

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Role of Religion & Ideology in the Indo-Pak Conflict Spectrum

Dr. Huma Baqai

Associating conflict with religion is a shame. However, history is replete with examples of religion being used to consolidate power base and to perpetuate structural violence. The thirty year religious wars of Europe to Huntington’s thesis of clash of civilizations which actually calls for a remaking of the world order to consolidate and perpetuate the control of the power elite of the world are telling examples. Even though religions are essentially about building and making peace it continues to be misinterpreted and misused thus making our societies xenophobic.

In the case of Pakistan and India, religion and ideology is the common denominator to the conflict matrix. It is present in not just the day-to-day relations of India and Pakistan and in their respective polity, but is a major contributing factor to the impasse on Kashmir and regional integration. Ideology has also contributed to the lack of consensus about what kind of state India and Pakistan should be. The emphasis on Muslim culture and civilization, more than on Muslim religion was the raison d’etre at the time of Pakistan’s creation, a focus emphasized upon by Mr. Jinnah. Quaid envisioned Pakistan as a polity impartial to religion. In fact the history of the creation of Pakistan is marked by the fact that he discouraged talk of an Islamic state, as the Raja of Mahmudabad testified. Jinnah had openly declared that in Pakistan religion, creed, and caste would have nothing to do with the business of the state. He did not reject Islam as a guiding force, but envisioned Pakistan as a democratic country, not to be ruled by priests with divine missions. After a passage of more than half a century, the relationship of religion with state continues to be ambiguous. The debate whether Pakistan should be liberal democratic, or orthodox Islamic, continues and evokes different responses from different sections of society. The mainstream political parties, the military, and the politico-religious groups have all attempted to define this relationship according to their vision of democratic development, and the role of religion in society and state affairs. As a consequence of an unending conflict of interests, the quest

for shaping into an entity with a national identity, is the basic dimension to the ideological and political polarization in the country.  

The ideological crisis for India also has a historical manifestation that cannot be ignored. Among post colonial states, India seems to have emerged as the classic example of a state trapped by built in contradictions, which is between its self proclaimed ideological basis and the objective reality of its actions. The Secularism that the state avows by is under stress from increased communal tensions. Beneath a relatively outward looking section of secular minded Indians there is a vast majority that adheres to the narrow religious commitments bordering on intolerance. The Indian civil society practically rejects the ideology of secularism; it remains backward, ridden by caste prejudices and religious intolerance, superstitious beliefs, and obscurantist practices. The Hindutva political parties are monopolizing on these sentiments.

The consequences of such developments on inter state relations have been an increased focus on the ideologies of Islam and Hinduism. History, Hindu Muslim relations, impasse on Kashmir, and the entire matrix of bilateral relations between states are largely viewed through ideological blinders.

Since the motivational force behind the conflicts of South Asia are religious ideologies i.e. Islam for Pakistan and Bangladesh, Hinduism for India, and Buddhism for Sri Lanka, an analysis of politico-religious nexus becomes a prerequisite for the ongoing discussions.

Religion relates to politics in a number of ways. First, it interacts in various ways with the nation state, which is now the standard political arrangement throughout the global community. Second, many religions are powerful, worldwide forces and thus affect international arrangements. Third, religious conflicts can intensify divisions within and between states. Fourth, religious values are often invoked to justify and legitimize political actions and political arrangements, and this affects voting behavior and other manifestations of political struggle. Fifth, religious institutions themselves play a role within nations. Sixth, the behavior of political leaders often owes something to their religious beliefs. All these points are intertwined.

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The six dimensions of religion and political interplay sheds light on the religious-political scenario of South Asia. An understanding of which is indispensable to focus on the conflict spectrum of the region. The politicization of religion and exploitation of ideology is a historical fact for South Asian states. The colonial legacy can never be subtracted from the conflict analysis of the region, unless there is a desire to do it in a vacuum. A very critical element of the colonial strategy was to divide and rule. To avoid the horizontal aggregation of political demands against the authoritarian colonial rule, the British in the early twentieth century created separate electorate of the Muslims. A move that created the original fault line between the people of the subcontinent and eventually culminated into becoming the ideological base for the creation of Pakistan. Jinnah's demand for an independent Muslim state and Muslims being a separate political category was based on this particular fact. It became the central theme for the creation of Pakistan and an assertion of Muslims identity and Islamic ideology.

The two-nation theory gave the country a nationalist ideology it has even been described as an 'ideological state', which has been formulated against India. It was the fear of the rights of the minority in the face of a majoritarian interpretation of democracy that led to this articulation. Moreover, the concept of the nation-state imposed upon South Asia was in itself a mechanical application of the nation-state idea, with its monolithic credo and unitary state structures, on the deeply multi-cultural societies of the Third World was structurally flawed. The whole process negated the diversity, humanness, and freedom that were fundamental to their cultures.

The fact that ideological confrontation functions at the inter-state level does not allow patterns of cooperation to emerge. This is because intra-state conflicts over ethnic, linguistic, and religious issues in the region often assume inter-state character. It makes the intra-state conflict in one country to have its reverberations felt in neighboring one leading to trans-border movements of refugees, political dissidence and arms. In contemporary South Asia, more than anything else, cross-border affiliations of ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups create almost irresistible temptations for the involvement in the intra-state cleavages in the neighboring countries. On certain occasions, ethno-religious conflicts are fueled from across the border. In others, the ruling elite, being unable to find solutions to intra-state conflicts, are seeking an external bogey with a view to justifying repression and mobilizing people to defend the sovereignty and integrity of the

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6 The decision by Morley and Minto to create separate electorates crystallized nationalism in India around electoral politics. As two further episodes of franchise expansion and relatively greater self Government occurred in 1917 and 1935, the contention of various groups within the sub-continent to have a formal representation became insistent.

country. The transformation of intra-state conflicts into inter-state ones has always been, and still remains, the single most dominant factor contributing to violent conflicts in South Asia.\(^8\)

An additional, very pertinent historical aspect which is relevant to this discourse is that ideology was a need of pre-partition politics. Ostensibly, the secularism of the Congress and the communalism of the Muslim League are the main ideological legacies of the colonial era in India and Pakistan. But it is only by scaling the gap between the rhetoric and reality that the ideological impact of colonialism in the subcontinent can be meaningfully assessed. Both creeds were formulated as a response to colonialism in a bid to win the allegiance of large segments of the Indian society.\(^9\)

Instead of representing two sharply divergent or mutually exclusive worldviews, secularism and communalism in the subcontinental context in fact reveal themselves as alternative strategies of political mobilization. As such they appear less as polar opposites than competing and interacting political forces. Just as the Congress’ secularism was frequently over wrought with evocation of Hindu symbolism, the League’s communalism was shot through with concerns that were other than purely religious. The paradox of Mohammed All Jinnah with his secular leaning advocating the League’s communal demand for Pakistan, whereas Gandhi and his strong communal beliefs propounded the doctrine of communal unity\(^9\) thinking that was reflected as one of the central pillars of Congress’ secular post-colonial ideology, is a comment on the ambiguities surrounding the use of religion in South Asian politics.\(^10\)

The role history has played, is yet another augmenting factor. The Muslims and Hindus have glorified their past of conquest and conquer and view it through ideological blinders. Asghar Ali elaborates upon it by highlighting several points. First and foremost being the fact that Hinduism has been a non-doctrinaire, non-formalistic and umbrella religion. Whereas Islam is a normative religion that originated in Arabia, and for the most part was viewed in the subcontinent as a religion of the aggressor and was highly doctrinaire in nature. For contemporary India, these are not distant historical facts; they are repeatedly invoked by communalist in the present conflict between Hindus and Muslims. The current controversy about Babri Masjid Ramjanambhoomi is proof of how relevant the past has become in the present conflict between these two principle communities. History, in fact, has become a most powerful weapon in the hands of communalists today. The Parliamentary elections in India (November, 1989) were practically fought on the issue of Ramjanambhoomi Babri Masjid


\(^10\) Ibid., p. 27.
controversy. In Pakistan, there is an effort at the state level to equate the Muslim and Pakistani identities associated with the insistence that the ideology of Pakistan has as its essential component, hate against India and Hindus. The politicization and distortion of history thus should not be underrated as far as conflicts between Hindus and Muslims are concerned. This particular lineage of conflict is not just confined to Hindu-Muslim relations in India but has spillover effects on the relations between India and Pakistan, and also India and Bangladesh.

However, what is baffling about South Asian politics and needs to be focused upon is the continued negative use of religion in contemporary politics. The security paradigm of South Asia actually stands threatened because of this continued investment in the politics of religion and ideology by the elite of the region. The aggressive politico-religious stance is a bane to conflict resolution in South Asia. It does not allow the region to progress towards integration or even modernization. Every step taken towards regional integration or modernization is viewed against the ideology of the state. The Saffron family of India and the green turbans in Pakistan they wield street power to oppose such moves. A closer examination of the religious opposition and conflict reveals a remarkably common pattern in the states of South Asia. Behind the complexities and ambiguities, there is always the vested interest of those who have stakes in the conflict. These interests can range from efforts to destabilize the existing political power structures to continued investment in defense with no transparency to seeking economic advantages, or simply finding excuses for social and economic ills.

The deliberate patronage of the dominant ideology by the political leadership to remain in power is also common in the politics of the region. Religious teachings and practices are twisted and reinterpreted to support the vested interests of those who are in position of status. The majority religion is made a tool to buttress rulers’ control, rather than to promote justice, peace, and understanding. Especially, the post 1980 developments in South Asia are closely intertwined with religion, which does not promote

13 The color saffron has religious significance in Hinduism. Saffronization refers to Hindu tendencies.
14 Green is the color sacred to Muslims because they identify it to the green tomb of the mosque Masjid-e-Nabvi in Medina. In the polity of Pakistan green turbans are worn by Sunni extremist factions(groups having rightist tendencies).
tolerance and harmony but is reactionary and majoritarian, hence moving away from the principles of tolerance and inclusivity.

Prior to the 1980s, most social scientists\textsuperscript{15} viewed religion as a vestige of a bygone age. But 1979 onwards things began to change. Religion took on a new political importance, as phrases like “liberation theology”, “fundamentalism”, “solidarity”, and “moral majority” were used in countries as diverse as Nicaragua, Iran, Poland, and the United States. South Asia also came in this grip of religious politics. History is evident of the fact that religious politics has occasioned some of the most deeply rooted and tragic violence of the modern era. The role of religion in the South Asian politics and its resultant negative impact on the fabric of the society is not a recent phenomenon, but it has come to the fore with vengeance in the last two decades.

However, the communal blight in South Asia is the by-product of more than a century of manipulation of religious sensibilities for the basest political purposes. And those who are responsible for this manifestation now have no control over the negative tendencies they have initiated. The resurgence of Islamic militancy in Pakistan and the advent of Hindu militancy in India have raised the global security threat because of the nuclearization of the region.

Its societal manifestation is also extremely dangerous, which is the internal threat represented by the conveyers of traditions and beliefs, seeking to impose their values and enforce certain behaviors. The movements towards Islamization in Pakistan, with efforts directed towards introducing sharia as the law of the land are examples of it. In the same way, in India also movements towards Hinduism and symbolism are on the rise. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) or the National Volunteer Association (NVA) is the center of a movement of affiliated organizations which believe in India as a Hindu Rashtra or Hindu nation. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) of America (World Hindu Council)\textsuperscript{16} is its religious incarnation. The BJP is political wing which most of its adherents support. Their beliefs include that all Indians are ancestral Hindus and that those who are Christians or Muslims have converted to foreign religions and must accept


\textsuperscript{16} The Vishwa Hindu Parishad of America (World Hindu Council) aims to create a dynamic, vibrant, visible and effective Hindu society based on and inspired by the eternal values of Dharma, and the lofty ideal of Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam, “the entire creation is one family.” VHFA works to preserve, protect and promote the Hindu way of life. The Parishad is of the view that Hindus are those who believe, practice and respect the spiritual and religious principles and practices having roots in India. Thus, Hindus includes Jaina, Baudhha, Sikha and people of different sects and traditions within the Hindu ethos.
the primacy of their ancient Hindu heritage. An overall saffronization of Indian polity has happened which promote intolerance and has triggered religious mobilization and organized violence in India.

The states of South Asia have succumbed to religious tendencies. Religious intolerance is on the increase, and overt religious zeal often hides economic envy, competition, and political rivalry. The Tamil conflict in Sri Lanka, the Shia-Sunni differences in Pakistan, and the recent Hindu-Muslim riots in Gujarat are telling examples. This dilemma can be divided into two notable characteristics, one is the rise of sectarian/cast state and the other is the cycle of democratic distortions and resurgence.

The political history of the region is indicative of how politicization of religion is translated into electoral advantage in democratic systems and becomes a justification for dictatorships in autocratic regimes. Political parties also have increasingly resorted to using the religion card to gain credibility. Unable to resolve core problems like poverty, under/uneven development and regional divides, it is considered politically expedient to revert to a theme that is unifying. Moreover, the deep rooted forces of castes and sectarian divides and other parochial privileges remain strong and act as augmenting factors.

However, heightened religiosity in South Asia has made religion a source of conflict and disharmony, both at inter and intra-state level, resulting in the outbreak of hundreds of communal and sectarian riots, claiming thousands of lives and making many more miserable. The state actors in South Asian countries have failed dismally at reining in the forces of communal and sectarian hatred that destabilize the societies and promote inter-state conflicts. In fact, it is common observation that there is politicization of religion to further polarize society, to gain narrow ends. It has become an issue of identity rather than faith. There is no sense of responsibility among the ruling elite and the religious elites about the consequences of their acts. In fact, the state has become an accomplice, because of ineffectual politicians, obscurantist religious parties, and military rulers, all seeking to secure their grip on power. Civilian rulers, on the other hand, try to appease religious parties for expedient political and personal reasons. The corrosive influence of conflict in Afghanistan, Kashmir, Iraq, and Palestine, has contributed towards making religious militancy a force to reckon with. The dangers of a religious right coup are very real. The prospect of fascist rule in the subcontinent of more than a billion people is horrifying.

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17 Morning India (Ayodya), 11 June, 2003.
18 The color saffron has religious significance in Hinduism. Saffronization refers to Hindutva tendencies.
Fundamentalist ideas, religious or not, are dangerous because the people, who are in favor of them, do not want to submit themselves to human laws, because they think they only have to obey a higher force. The concept that people's behavior should be determined by a higher plan is a sort of slant towards transcendence, which is common to both the Vatican and the conservative Muslims, in spite of their enormous cultural and political differences. The focus is on surpassing people and making people submit to and thus subjugating the individual, and the primacy of humans and human laws.\textsuperscript{19}

The international events and globalization also contribute to religious extremism in South Asia. The naked aggression and unilateralism practiced by the only super power in the world, especially against the Muslims, has reinforced the concept of the clash of civilizations. There is a conceptual shift in the definition of sovereignty. The powerful are coercing sovereign states to tailor domestic policies to conform to their ideals of freedom, tolerance, and democracy. Those who do not comply, face the threats of sanctions, engineered regime change, social upheavals, and even naked aggression in the form of invasions, all in the name of the American neo-cons doctrine of freedom and democracy, and the anticipated right to self-defense. This has further strengthened the hands of the rightist in South Asian societies. Modernization is considered to be an agenda of the West. It has strengthened the stance of the Islamists and in the process it has weakened the stance of the liberals.

South Asia is a region where people strongly believe in religion, and it plays a defining role in their lives. It is nearly impossible for any political party or individual to be completely out of the influence of religion. However, a conscious effort has to be made to prevent the use of religion to further political ends. The real solution lies in the separation of state and religion. This would prevent the negative use of religion from controlling politics and religious sentiments from influencing relations between different communities. In order to maintain peace and cooperation in South Asia, it is desirable to carry out dialogue and consultations between different religions.

The lack of equity and equality in the societies of South Asia has led to the growth of religious parties. They exploit the helplessness and frustration prevalent thus leaving the population open to any message that promises a decent life. Individuals and groups in power, in their quest for power, have abused religion for this end.

\textsuperscript{19} Li President Annemie Neyts-Uytte Broeck, “Fundamentalism is inherently flawed” reproduced in Liberal Aerogramme: Liberal International (London), issue 46, July 2003.
The rise of religious extremism in all the states of South Asia in the post 1980s is indicative how the states of South Asia neither addressed the concerns of the minorities nor integrated them into the mainstream. The frustration and the peripheral status was exploited and politicized because of the changing international environment. Sections of dominant interest groups from majority religious and ethnic communities have used religion to promote their political agenda. Moreover, religious extremism contribute to both inter and intra-state conflicts. By instigating religious extremism the forces of Hindutva, Islamic extremism, and Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism reinforce their chauvinist counterparts both within their states, and across borders. This impedes peace, harmony, and cooperation in the region, and erodes the basis for pluralistic democracy and the option of separation of religion from state. Democratic consensus on limiting or reversing religious extremism would gradually roll back their influence in the polity of South Asia.

Secularism Relevance to South Asia. The term secularism which is a 19th and 20th century import from Europe is under scrutiny in South Asia. One finds much confusion and a large number of contradictory positions on its meaning and significance. Secularity is commonly viewed as a state separation between religious and administrative affairs. But it may have an extensive dimension where it refers to governmental protection of religious belief, worship, freedom of thought, and expression. One duty of secular government is the prevention of violation concerning the rights of religious groups by other groups.

Post independence India is a secular state. Pakistan and Bangladesh by contrast are Islamic. Sri Lanka is a secular state but there has been an attempt to redefine it as a Buddhist state. Nepal has only recently given up its Hindu state status. With this background in mind, the views on secularism in South Asia may be analyzed under three broad categories.

First, the Western meaning as advocated in the Indian and Sri Lankan Constitutions where there is separation of religion and state. To Westerners, only such a secular state can guarantee religious pluralism. Second, is a non Western Indian view of secularism which is more acceptable to the non modern Indians, and also sometimes, endorsed by Mahatama Gandhi where India as a secular state tolerates and respects religious pluralism. This view also has acceptability in Pakistan and is seen as Jinnah’s vision of a Muslim majority secular state rather than a theocratic one. The secular state here encourages tolerance and religious pluralism not because of its neutrality on the matters of religion but rather because of an assumed religious orientation towards truth, tolerance and reality. Third, there is a rejectionist view that insists on the inseparability of politics and religion. It rejects all forms of secularism. Most evident of course are many revivalist, fundamentalist, and chauvinistic movements advocating a religious Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist, or Sikh nation state.
However, the moderates and anti secularists who reject exclusivistic religious-nationalist development, do not see the alternative as a modern, westernized secular state. In their view, political-religious conflict involving intolerance and violence are also perpetuated by the so called modern secular national state. To them, religion per se is not a source of conflict but its politicization that trigger conflict. In the South Asian context, this is proven beyond doubt for both secular and non secular state has witnessed religion triggered conflicts and its politicization by the ruling elite. Therefore, the adoption of secular values alone will not resolve the religious chasm in the region. The approaches emphasized upon and applicable should include tolerance, non-violence, pluralism, and inclusivism.

Support for strict separation between religion and government has grown steadily over the past five years according to U.S survey. Majorities in 47 countries surveyed by the Washington based PEW institute for public opinion agree religion and politics do not to mix. This is trend also true for Pakistan, Pakistanis who believed that religion and government should remain separate were only 33 percent of the population in 2002. Five years later the size grew to 48 percent a 15 percent increase. However it should be completely understood that when people of Pakistan call for separation of government and religion they are actually giving a negative sanction to politicization of religion and its use for power brokerage. Pakistan like rest of South Asia remains a emotionally religious state looking for options that does not divorce religion but live with it in peace. Secularism is viable option.

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Sindh: How to Control Dropout at Primary School Level?

Faheem Abbasi

Universal primary education is neither motto nor the slogan of the third word countries but, in fact, it is the pre-requisite for the development in 21st century. Pakistan has also initiated several schemes and policies to achieve the targets of universal primary education. How much we have been successful or on the way of success which may lead Pakistan towards the advancement of technology. It is necessary to mention here that what dropout is and how it can be phased out.

Dropout can be defined as a child, who has dropped out of education process or a student who has not completed basic primary education and no longer he/she attends school. It is also considered that the children on the verge of dropping out are the pupils who have not attended school for six months and thus are unable to meet the demands set out for basic education. According to the world reference.com dictionary the definition of dropout is “Leave school or an educational program permanently”. According to Columbia Encyclopedia, the term “dropout” means a child who quits school before graduation. The term “school dropout” means an individual who is no longer attending any school and who has not received primary school completion certificate or its recognized equivalent.

Here we discuss the problem with reference to the province of Sindh, particularly in the rural areas of Sindh. The different concepts, dimensions and reasons for the dropout among the students have been introduced by current studies, particularly female students from class I-V in primary education, in rural areas of Sindh province.

In the Sindh province, the dropout is:

Boys Dropout rates in rural areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grades 1 to 2</th>
<th>Grades 2 to 3</th>
<th>Grades 3 to 4</th>
<th>Grades 4 to 5</th>
<th>Grades 5 to 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Girls Dropout rates in rural areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grades</th>
<th>Grades</th>
<th>Grades</th>
<th>Grades</th>
<th>Grades 5 to 6</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 to 2</td>
<td>2 to 3</td>
<td>3 to 4</td>
<td>4 to 5</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>-------</td>
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<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Semis Census 2002-2003

In spite of that, Government policies have been put in place to make access to basic schooling more affordable. This includes no tuition fee, distribution of free textbooks, scholarship of Rs.100 per month to the female student of class VI to VIII and no obligatory uniforms. Even so, parents reported "costs" the most common reason why girls continue to fall between the cracks in the education system.

It has been observed that boys do not attend schools because they are working in the fields with their parents in case if parent works in field. In some cases some boys are working on the shops and they are needed to work to help the family in livelihood. In both cases if boy is not attending the school his parents show unwillingness towards the education of child and both cases results dropout. The lack of means of family subsistence had a more direct effect on boys than girls. The main reason why girls drop out or never attend school is because of different socio-cultural issues, customs, traditions and taboos of a particular clan, caste or areas having different conceptualization peculiarities.

Drop out factors are found slightly change in different communities and areas. The major factors have been observed are lack of motivation parents and children, poverty, and livelihood. Child-labor related reasons such as herding, need to earn a living to help support the family, and need to take care of siblings or older members of the family, migration, home environment, conflicts with teachers or school administrators and family characteristics also seems to be visible major reasons. In addition to the above factors, communities’ discrimination, rural areas, nomadic lifestyle and long distance between home and school are the main reasons of dropout.

The survey shows that the drop out children themselves and parents value the importance of education highly. 75% of parents and 60% of children regarded education essential for the future. In the transition period, most of the parents lost their belief in education due to school system, teacher’s attitude and start withdrawing their children from school although traditionally, they valued education highly. In the province of Sindh the population covering the age group of 4 to 9 years, in the boys’ population of 3,274,910 participation rate in primary school is 46% and in case of girls’ population of 2,951,165, participation rate is 28%. The over all participation rate in the whole province is 38% which leaves 54% boys, 72% girls and overall 62% children out of schools (Source: Semis Census 2001-2002)
The dropouts did not like to be called or call themselves dropouts and neither did their parents. Most of the children of rural areas are less aware about the importance of the regularity in the schools. They prefer to avoid missing the school. In the schools these students are absent even more than one year but they are not considered as “drop out” as though it meant someone who is out from the school or whose name has been taken off from the school. But it has been found that the students once enrolled are enrolled in the general register and regular attendance register even after years have passed.

**Problem Areas**

(a) **Behavioral problems**

It covers the aggressiveness, psychological and emotional problems related both with the children and parents towards education.

(b) **Social relationships**

Under the social problems the bad relationships with teachers, few or no friends in school is highly considerable.

(c) **School motivation and school results**

Both the child and parent have an extreme value for low belief in value of education, passive in classroom environment.

(d) **Family - school cooperation**

This covers the lack of communication, cooperation, support of education including socialization skills and educational level of parents.

**Legislations and policies on drop out**

There is no clear legislative policy that addresses the drop out incidence. The drop out issue should be treated as a separate concern. It should not mix with other poverty related issues in order that it would get the necessary government support and attention. Immediate review and reforms should be carried out to address and cover the systemic problems plaguing the educational system. The measures should be taken for curriculum standards, teacher skills and professional development, the policy on teacher’s salaries, the attitude of teacher, access to school and maintain the teacher student ratio accordingly.

**Implications**
As early, before the completion of basic primary education, 63% boys and 71% of girls ultimately leave the schools without completion of primary education. Before they drop out, these students have multiple years in the same class, poor behavior, and weak attendance. This is impacting not only the students themselves but the schools they attend. Intervening early and getting students “back on track” will not only decrease the dropout rate but will have positive impacts on education of middle classes, attendance, and overall school climate. It is clear that different areas will need different interventions.

**Recommendations**

1. **legislation**

New school law should be introduced with transparent and effective school system covering proper access to the children of rural areas, teacher student ratio and by developing clear definitions of drop-outs, absentees, long absentees, non-enrolled, etc.

2. **Improving cooperation**

The community based organizations may be encouraged and reforms should be initiated for strong social mobilization including social work and counselling, communication and cooperation between school and family. Public-private partnership, ownership by community and network of volunteers should be activated for the school problems and educational issues.

3. **Teacher education and in-service Trainings**

Teachers should be educated according to individualized approach of children, interactive teaching methods, multigrade teaching techniques to support enrollment process and maximize the retain rate.

4. **Information Gathering**

A reliable, technological advance and authenticated system of information on school dropouts on a monthly and yearly basis prior finishing of compulsory education years may be devised.

The current policies are in need of modification in order to keep the pace with the recent technological advancement of society and particularly
participation of females in every walk of life. As educators, we must think about the research and devise the policies that will fulfill the needs of progressive society. In Pakistan, the school system is in need of culture-oriented and dynamic system to optimize and maximize the school participation situation to improve and develop the culture in which dropout may be minimized. ‘Developmental planning process infused through research findings can produce a move from existing practices like management, size of school and decision making towards changeable needed goals (Harris, 1998).

In view of significance and compulsory participation in every part of life education has been the focus of much research and writing around the globe. So far, Pakistan in practical term appears to be untouched by this global trend. So serious efforts can be made to uncover and find the major causes of the dropout among the students and necessary steps can be taken for its improvement as an educated person is a prerequisite for the advancement of society.

**Policy Focus Areas**

(a) Gender Issue: Boys Drop Out & Girls Drop Out

It has been observed that boys do not attend schools because they are working in the fields with their parents in case if parent works in field. In some cases some boys are working on the shops and they are needed to work to help the family in livelihood. In both cases if boy is not attending the school his parents show unwillingness towards the education of child and both cases results dropout. The lack of means of family subsistence had a more direct effect on boys than girls. The main reason why girls drop out or never attend school is because of different socio-cultural issues, customs, traditions and taboos of a particular clan, caste or areas having different conceptualization peculiarities.

(b) Key factors of Drop Out

Drop out factors are found slightly change in different communities and areas. The major factors are lack of motivation, poverty, Child-labor related reasons such as herding, need to earn a living to help support the family, and need to take care of siblings or older members of the family, migration, home environment, conflicts with teachers or school administrators and family characteristics in which families have changed their place of
residence. In addition to the above factors, communities’ discrimination, rural areas, nomadic lifestyle and remote distance between home and school are the main reasons of dropout.

(c) Attitude towards education and drop out

The survey showed that the drop out children themselves and parents value education highly. 75% of parents and 60% of children regarded education essential for the future. In the transition period, most of the parents lost their belief in education due to school system, teacher’s attitude and start withdrawing their children from school although traditionally, valued education highly. In the province of Sindh the population covering the age group of 4 to 9 years, in the boys population of 3,274,910 participation rate in primary school is 46% and in case of girls population of 2,951,165, participation rate is 28%. The over all participation rate in the whole province is 38% which leaves 54% boys, 72% girls and overall 62% children out of schools (Source: Semis Census 2001-2002)

(d) Drop out children attitude towards being a drop out

The dropouts did not like to be called or call themselves dropouts and neither did their parents. The children of rural areas are less aware about the importance of education. They preferred to be called ‘school leavers’ or ‘Long absentees’, avoiding the use of the word ‘drop out’. It is also noted the stigma children associates with the word “drop out” as though it meant someone who is out from the school or whose name has been taken off from the school. But it has found that the students once enrolled are enrolled in the general register and regular attendance register even after years have passed

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Adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

Joint Statement by International Non-Governmental Organizations

New York – September 13, 2007 – International human rights organizations welcomed today’s decision by the United Nations General Assembly to adopt the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

The Declaration provides guidance on basic measures needed to ensure the dignity, survival and well-being of some of the world’s most impoverished and marginalized peoples.

The Declaration recognizes the rights of Indigenous peoples to the lands, territories and natural resources that are critical to their ways of life. The Declaration affirms that Indigenous peoples, like all peoples, have the right to self-determination.

Adoption of the Declaration sends a clear message to the international community that the rights of Indigenous peoples are not separate from or less than the rights of others, but are an integral and indispensable part of a human rights system dedicated to the rights of all.

The Declaration was adopted by a vote of 143 out of 158 (4 against the adoption, and 11 abstentions). The vote was requested by the United States, Australia, and New Zealand.

The Declaration has been under development for more than two decades within the UN system. The Declaration was adopted by the UN Human Rights Council on 29 June 2006, and human rights organizations joined with Indigenous peoples in calling for its immediate adoption by the UN General Assembly. However, final adoption was delayed and further amendments were introduced to accommodate the concerns of some states.

We hope that all States will work in good faith to implement in their domestic law and practice this vitally important and long overdue human rights instrument.

These organizations call on all States to seize the historic opportunity presented by adoption of the Declaration to enter into a new relationship with Indigenous peoples based on a principled commitment to the protection of human rights.

Amnesty International
Friends World Committee for Consultation (Quakers)
International Service for Human Rights (ISHR)
International Federation of Human Rights (FIDH)
International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA)
KAIROS: Canadian Ecumenical Justice Initiatives
Netherlands Centre for Indigenous Peoples (NCIV)
Rights & Democracy

United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

The General Assembly,

Taking note of the recommendation of the Human Rights Council contained in its resolution 1/2 of 29 June 2006, by which the Council adopted the text of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Recalling its resolution 61/178 of 20 December 2006, by which it decided to defer consideration of and action on the Declaration to allow time for further consultations thereon, and also decided to conclude its consideration before the end of the sixty-first session of the General Assembly,

Adopts the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as contained in the annex to the present resolution.

The General Assembly,

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and good faith in the fulfilment of the obligations assumed by States in accordance with the Charter,

Affirming that indigenous peoples are equal to all other peoples, while recognizing the right of all peoples to be different, to consider themselves different, and to be respected as such,

Affirming also that all peoples contribute to the diversity and richness of civilizations and cultures, which constitute the common heritage of humankind,

Affirming further that all doctrines, policies and practices based on or advocating superiority of peoples or individuals on the basis of national origin or racial, religious, ethnic or cultural differences are racist, scientifically false, legally invalid, morally condemnable and socially unjust,

Reaffirming that indigenous peoples, in the exercise of their rights, should be free from discrimination of any kind,
Concerned that indigenous peoples have suffered from historic injustices as a result of, inter alia, their colonization and dispossession of their lands, territories and resources, thus preventing them from exercising, in particular, their right to development in accordance with their own needs and interests,

Recognizing the urgent need to respect and promote the inherent rights of indigenous peoples which derive from their political, economic and social structures and from their cultures, spiritual traditions, histories and philosophies, especially their rights to their lands, territories and resources,

Recognizing also the urgent need to respect and promote the rights of indigenous peoples affirmed in treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements with States,

Welcoming the fact that indigenous peoples are organizing themselves for political, economic, social and cultural enhancement and in order to bring to an end all forms of discrimination and oppression wherever they occur,

Convinced that control by indigenous peoples over developments affecting them and their lands, territories and resources will enable them to maintain and strengthen their institutions, cultures and traditions, and to promote their development in accordance with their aspirations and needs,

Recognizing that respect for indigenous knowledge, cultures and traditional practices contributes to sustainable and equitable development and proper management of the environment,

Emphasizing the contribution of the demilitarization of the lands and territories of indigenous peoples to peace, economic and social progress and development, understanding and friendly relations among nations and peoples of the world,

Recognizing in particular the right of indigenous families and communities to retain shared responsibility for the upbringing, training, education and well-being of their children, consistent with the rights of the child,

Considering that the rights affirmed in treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements between States and indigenous peoples are, in some situations, matters of international concern, interest, responsibility and character,

Considering also that treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements, and the relationship they represent, are the basis for a strengthened partnership between indigenous peoples and States,
Acknowledging that the Charter of the United Nations, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as well as the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, affirm the fundamental importance of the right to self-determination of all peoples, by virtue of which they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development,

Bearing in mind that nothing in this Declaration may be used to deny any peoples their right to self-determination, exercised in conformity with international law,

Convinced that the recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples in this Declaration will enhance harmonious and cooperative relations between the State and indigenous peoples, based on principles of justice, democracy, respect for human rights, non-discrimination and good faith,

Encouraging States to comply with and effectively implement all their obligations as they apply to indigenous peoples under international instruments, in particular those related to human rights, in consultation and cooperation with the peoples concerned,

Emphasizing that the United Nations has an important and continuing role to play in promoting and protecting the rights of indigenous peoples,

Believing that this Declaration is a further important step forward for the recognition, promotion and protection of the rights and freedoms of indigenous peoples and in the development of relevant activities of the United Nations system in this field,

Recognizing and reaffirming that indigenous individuals are entitled without discrimination to all human rights recognized in international law, and that indigenous peoples possess collective rights which are indispensable for their existence, well-being and integral development as peoples,

Recognizing also that the situation of indigenous peoples varies from region to region and from country to country and that the significance of national and regional particularities and various historical and cultural backgrounds should be taken into consideration,

Solemnly proclaims the following United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as a standard of achievement to be pursued in a spirit of partnership and mutual respect:
Article 1

Indigenous peoples have the right to the full enjoyment, as a collective or as individuals, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms as recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international human rights law.

Article 2

Indigenous peoples and individuals are free and equal to all other peoples and individuals and have the right to be free from any kind of discrimination, in the exercise of their rights, in particular that based on their indigenous origin or identity.

Article 3

Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

Article 4

Indigenous peoples, in exercising their right to self-determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as ways and means for financing their autonomous functions.

Article 5

Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining their right to participate fully, if they so choose, in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the State.

Article 6

Every indigenous individual has the right to a nationality.

Article 7

1. Indigenous individuals have the rights to life, physical and mental integrity, liberty and security of person.

2. Indigenous peoples have the collective right to live in freedom, peace and security as distinct peoples and shall not be subjected to any act of genocide.
or any other act of violence, including forcibly removing children of the group to another group.

**Article 8**

1. Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right not to be subjected to forced assimilation or destruction of their culture.

2. States shall provide effective mechanisms for prevention of, and redress for:

(a) Any action which has the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as distinct peoples, or of their cultural values or ethnic identities;

(b) Any action which has the aim or effect of dispossessing them of their lands, territories or resources;

(c) Any form of forced population transfer which has the aim or effect of violating or undermining any of their rights;

(d) Any form of forced assimilation or integration;

(e) Any form of propaganda designed to promote or incite racial or ethnic discrimination directed against them.

**Article 9**

Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right to belong to an indigenous community or nation, in accordance with the traditions and customs of the community or nation concerned. No discrimination of any kind may arise from the exercise of such a right.

**Article 10**

Indigenous peoples shall not be forcibly removed from their lands or territories. No relocation shall take place without the free, prior and informed consent of the indigenous peoples concerned and after agreement on just and fair compensation and, where possible, with the option of return.

**Article 11**

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to practise and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs. This includes the right to maintain, protect and
develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature.

2. States shall provide redress through effective mechanisms, which may include restitution, developed in conjunction with indigenous peoples, with respect to their cultural, intellectual, religious and spiritual property taken without their free, prior and informed consent or in violation of their laws, traditions and customs.

Article 12

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to manifest, practice, develop and teach their spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; the right to maintain, protect, and have access in privacy to their religious and cultural sites; the right to the use and control of their ceremonial objects; and the right to the repatriation of their human remains.

2. States shall seek to enable the access and/or repatriation of ceremonial objects and human remains in their possession through fair, transparent and effective mechanisms developed in conjunction with indigenous peoples concerned.

Article 13

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.

2. States shall take effective measures to ensure that this right is protected and also to ensure that indigenous peoples can understand and be understood in political, legal and administrative proceedings, where necessary through the provision of interpretation or by other appropriate means.

Article 14

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning.

2. Indigenous individuals, particularly children, have the right to all levels and forms of education of the State without discrimination.
3. States shall, in conjunction with indigenous peoples, take effective measures, in order for indigenous individuals, particularly children, including those living outside their communities, to have access, when possible, to an education in their own culture and provided in their own language.

Article 15

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations which shall be appropriately reflected in education and public information.

2. States shall take effective measures, in consultation and cooperation with the indigenous peoples concerned, to combat prejudice and eliminate discrimination and to promote tolerance, understanding and good relations among indigenous peoples and all other segments of society.

Article 16

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to establish their own media in their own languages and to have access to all forms of non-indigenous media without discrimination.

2. States shall take effective measures to ensure that State-owned media duly reflect indigenous cultural diversity.

States, without prejudice to ensuring full freedom of expression, should encourage privately owned media to adequately reflect indigenous cultural diversity.

Article 17

1. Indigenous individuals and peoples have the right to enjoy fully all rights established under applicable international and domestic labour law.

2. States shall in consultation and cooperation with indigenous peoples take specific measures to protect indigenous children from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development, taking into account their special vulnerability and the importance of education for their empowerment.

3. Indigenous individuals have the right not to be subjected to any discriminatory conditions of labour and, inter alia, employment or salary.

Article 18
Indigenous peoples have the right to participate in decision-making in matters which would affect their rights, through representatives chosen by themselves in accordance with their own procedures, as well as to maintain and develop their own indigenous decision-making institutions.

**Article 19**

States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free, prior and informed consent before adopting and implementing legislative or administrative measures that may affect them.

**Article 20**

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and develop their political, economic and social systems or institutions, to be secure in the enjoyment of their own means of subsistence and development, and to engage freely in all their traditional and other economic activities.

2. Indigenous peoples deprived of their means of subsistence and development are entitled to just and fair redress.

**Article 21**

1. Indigenous peoples have the right, without discrimination, to the improvement of their economic and social conditions, including, inter alia, in the areas of education, employment, vocational training and retraining, housing, sanitation, health and social security.

2. States shall take effective measures and, where appropriate, special measures to ensure continuing improvement of their economic and social conditions. Particular attention shall be paid to the rights and special needs of indigenous elders, women, youth, children and persons with disabilities.

**Article 22**

1. Particular attention shall be paid to the rights and special needs of indigenous elders, women, youth, children and persons with disabilities in the implementation of this Declaration.

2. States shall take measures, in conjunction with indigenous peoples, to ensure that indigenous women and children enjoy the full protection and guarantees against all forms of violence and discrimination.

**Article 23**
Indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for exercising their right to development. In particular, indigenous peoples have the right to be actively involved in developing and determining health, housing and other economic and social programmes affecting them and, as far as possible, to administer such programmes through their own institutions.

Article 24

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to their traditional medicines and to maintain their health practices, including the conservation of their vital medicinal plants, animals and minerals. Indigenous individuals also have the right to access, without any discrimination, to all social and health services.

2. Indigenous individuals have an equal right to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health. States shall take the necessary steps with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of this right.

Article 25

Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used lands, territories, waters and coastal seas and other resources and to uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard.

Article 26

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired.

2. Indigenous peoples have the right to own, use, develop and control the lands, territories and resources that they possess by reason of traditional ownership or other traditional occupation or use, as well as those which they have otherwise acquired.

3. States shall give legal recognition and protection to these lands, territories and resources. Such recognition shall be conducted with due respect to the customs, traditions and land tenure systems of the indigenous peoples concerned.
Article 27

States shall establish and implement, in conjunction with indigenous peoples concerned, a fair, independent, impartial, open and transparent process, giving due recognition to indigenous peoples’ laws, traditions, customs and land tenure systems, to recognize and adjudicate the rights of indigenous peoples pertaining to their lands, territories and resources, including those which were traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used. Indigenous peoples shall have the right to participate in this process.

Article 28

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to redress, by means that can include restitution or, when this is not possible, just, fair and equitable compensation, for the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used, and which have been confiscated, taken, occupied, used or damaged without their free, prior and informed consent.

2. Unless otherwise freely agreed upon by the peoples concerned, compensation shall take the form of lands, territories and resources equal in quality, size and legal status or of monetary compensation or other appropriate redress.

Article 29

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the conservation and protection of the environment and the productive capacity of their lands or territories and resources. States shall establish and implement assistance programmes for indigenous peoples for such conservation and protection, without discrimination.

2. States shall take effective measures to ensure that no storage or disposal of hazardous materials shall take place in the lands or territories of indigenous peoples without their free, prior and informed consent.

3. States shall also take effective measures to ensure, as needed, that programmes for monitoring, maintaining and restoring the health of indigenous peoples, as developed and implemented by the peoples affected by such materials, are duly implemented.

Article 30
1. Military activities shall not take place in the lands or territories of indigenous peoples, unless justified by a relevant public interest or otherwise freely agreed with or requested by the indigenous peoples concerned.

2. States shall undertake effective consultations with the indigenous peoples concerned, through appropriate procedures and in particular through their representative institutions, prior to using their lands or territories for military activities.

**Article 31**

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions.

2. In conjunction with indigenous peoples, States shall take effective measures to recognize and protect the exercise of these rights.

**Article 32**

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for the development or use of their lands or territories and other resources.

2. States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free and informed consent prior to the approval of any project affecting their lands or territories and other resources, particularly in connection with the development, utilization or exploitation of mineral, water or other resources.

3. States shall provide effective mechanisms for just and fair redress for any such activities, and appropriate measures shall be taken to mitigate adverse environmental, economic, social, cultural or spiritual impact.

**Article 33**
1. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine their own identity or membership in accordance with their customs and traditions. This does not impair the right of indigenous individuals to obtain citizenship of the States in which they live.

2. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine the structures and to select the membership of their institutions in accordance with their own procedures.

**Article 34**

Indigenous peoples have the right to promote, develop and maintain their institutional structures and their distinctive customs, spirituality, traditions, procedures, practices and, in the cases where they exist, juridical systems or customs, in accordance with international human rights standards.

**Article 35**

Indigenous peoples have the right to determine the responsibilities of individuals to their communities.

**Article 36**

1. Indigenous peoples, in particular those divided by international borders, have the right to maintain and develop contacts, relations and cooperation, including activities for spiritual, cultural, political, economic and social purposes, with their own members as well as other peoples across borders.

2. States, in consultation and cooperation with indigenous peoples, shall take effective measures to facilitate the exercise and ensure the implementation of this right.

**Article 37**

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the recognition, observance and enforcement of treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements concluded with States or their successors and to have States honour and respect such treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements.

2. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as diminishing or eliminating the rights of indigenous peoples contained in treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements.

**Article 38**

States in consultation and cooperation with indigenous peoples, shall take the appropriate measures, including legislative measures, to achieve the ends of this Declaration.
Article 39

Indigenous peoples have the right to have access to financial and technical assistance from States and through international cooperation, for the enjoyment of the rights contained in this Declaration.

Article 40

Indigenous peoples have the right to access to and prompt decision through just and fair procedures for the resolution of conflicts and disputes with States or other parties, as well as to effective remedies for all infringements of their individual and collective rights. Such a decision shall give due consideration to the customs, traditions, rules and legal systems of the indigenous peoples concerned and international human rights.

Article 41

The organs and specialized agencies of the United Nations system and other intergovernmental organizations shall contribute to the full realization of the provisions of this Declaration through the mobilization, inter alia, of financial cooperation and technical assistance. Ways and means of ensuring participation of indigenous peoples on issues affecting them shall be established.

Article 42

The United Nations, its bodies, including the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, and specialized agencies, including at the country level, and States shall promote respect for and full application of the provisions of this Declaration and follow up the effectiveness of this Declaration.

Article 43

The rights recognized herein constitute the minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-being of the indigenous peoples of the world.

Article 44

All the rights and freedoms recognized herein are equally guaranteed to male and female indigenous individuals.

Article 45

Nothing in this Declaration may be construed as diminishing or extinguishing the rights indigenous peoples have now or may acquire in the future.

Article 46
1. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, people, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act contrary to the Charter of the United Nations or construed as authorizing or encouraging any action which would dismember or impair, totally or in part, the territorial integrity or political unity of sovereign and independent States.

2. In the exercise of the rights enunciated in the present Declaration, human rights and fundamental freedoms of all shall be respected. The exercise of the rights set forth in this Declaration shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law, and in accordance with international human rights obligations. Any such limitations shall be non-discriminatory and strictly necessary solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and for meeting the just and most compelling requirements of a democratic society.

3. The provisions set forth in this Declaration shall be interpreted in accordance with the principles of justice, democracy, respect for human rights, equality, non-discrimination, good governance and good faith.
We the elected leaders of Pakistan have deliberated on the political crisis in our beloved homeland, the threats to its survival, the erosion of the federation’s unity, the military’s subordination of all state institutions, the marginalization of civil society, the mockery of the Constitution and representative institutions, growing poverty, unemployment and inequality, brutalization of society, breakdown of rule of law and, the unprecedented hardships facing our people under a military dictatorship, which has pushed our beloved country to the brink of a total disaster; Noting the most devastating and traumatic experiences that our nation experienced under military dictatorships that played havoc with the nation’s destiny and created conditions disallowing the progress of our people and the flowering of democracy. Even after removal from office they undermined the people’s mandate and the sovereign will of the people.

Drawing history’s lesson that the military dictatorship and the nation cannot co-exist - as military involvement adversely the economy and the democratic institutions as well as the defence capabilities, and the integrity of the country - the nation needs a new direction different from a militaristic and regimental approach of the Bonapartist regimes, as the current one; Taking serious exception to the vilification campaign against the representatives of the people, in particular, and the civilians, in general, the victimization of political leaders/workers and their media trials under a Draconian law in the name of accountability, in order to divide and eliminate the representative political parties, to Gerrymander a king’s party and concoct legitimacy to prolong the military rule; Noting our responsibility to our people to set an alternative direction for the country saving it from its present predicaments on an economically sustainable, socially progressive, politically democratic and pluralist, federally cooperative, ideologically tolerant, internationally respectable and regionally peaceful basis in the larger interests of the peoples of Pakistan to decide once for all that only the people and no one else has the sovereign right to govern through their elected representatives, as conceived by the democrat par excellence, Father of the Nation Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah; Reaffirming our commitment to undiluted democracy and universally recognized fundamental rights, the rights of a vibrant opposition, internal party
democracy, ideological/political tolerance, bipartisan working of the parliament through powerful committee system, a cooperative federation with no discrimination against federating units, the decentralization and devolution of power, maximum provincial autonomy, the empowerment of the people at the grassroots level, the emancipation of our people from poverty, ignorance, want and disease, the uplift of women and minorities, the elimination of Kalashnikov culture, a free and independent media, an independent judiciary, a neutral civil service, rule of law and merit, the settlement of disputes with the neighbours through peaceful means, honouring international contracts, laws/covenants and sovereign guarantees, so as to achieve a responsible and civilized status in the comity of nations through a foreign policy that suits our national interests; Calling upon the people of Pakistan to join hands to save our motherland from the clutches of military dictatorship and to defend their fundamental, social, political and economic rights and for a democratic, federal, modern and progressive Pakistan as dreamt by the Founder of the nation; have adopted the following, “Charter of Democracy”;

A. CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

1. The 1973 Constitution as on 12th October 1999 before the military coup shall be restored with the provisions of joint electorates, minorities, and women's reserved seats on closed party list in the Parliament, the lowering of the voting age, and the increase in seats in parliament and the legal Framework Order, 2000 and the Seventeenth Constitutional Amendment shall be repealed accordingly.

2. The Appointment of the Governors, three Services Chiefs and the CJCSC shall be made by the Chief Executive who is the Prime Minister, as per the 1973 Constitution.

3. (a) The recommendations for appointment of judges to superior judiciary shall be formulated through a commission, which shall comprise of the following:

   i. The Chairman shall be a Chief Justice, who has never previously taken oath under PCO.

   ii. The members of the commission shall be the Chief Justices of the provincial High Courts who have not taken oath under the PCO, failing which the senior most judge of that High Court who has not taken oath shall be the member
iii. Vice Chairmen of Pakistan and Vice Chairmen of Provincial Bar Association with respect to the appointment of judges to their concerned province

iv. President, Supreme Court Bar Association

v. Presidents of High Court Bar Associations of Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, and Quetta with respect to the appointment of judges to their concerned province

vi. Federal Minister for Law & Justice

vii. Attorney General of Pakistan

(a-i) The Commission shall forward a panel of three names for each vacancy to the Prime Minister, who shall forward one name for confirmation to Joint Parliamentary Committee for confirmation of the nomination through a transparent public hearing process.

(a-ii) The Joint Parliamentary Committee shall comprise of 50 percent members from the treasury benches and the remaining 50 percent from opposition parties based on their strength in the Parliament nominated by respective Parliamentary leaders.

(b) No judge shall take oath under any Provisional Constitutional Order or any other oath that is contradictory to the exact language of the original oath prescribed in the Constitution of 1973.

(c) Administrative mechanism will be instituted for the prevention of misconduct, implementation of code of ethics, and removal of judges on such charges brought to its attention by any citizen through the proposed commission for appointment of Judges.

(d) All special courts including Anti Terrorism and Accountability Courts shall be abolished and such cases be tried in ordinary courts. Further to create a set of rules and procedures whereby, the arbitrary powers of the Chief Justices over the assignment of cases to various judges and the transfer of judges to various benches such powers shall be exercised by the Chief Justice and two senior most judges sitting together.

4. A Federal Constitutional Court will be set up to resolve constitutional issues, giving equal representation to each of the federating units, whose members may be judges or persons qualified to be judges of the Supreme Court, constituted for a six year period. The Supreme and High Courts will hear regular civil and criminal cases. The appointment of Judges shall be made in the same manner as for Judges of Higher Judiciary.
5. The Concurrent List in the Constitution will be abolished. A new NFC award will be announced.

6. The reserved seats for woman in the National and Provincial Assemblies will be allocated to the parties on the basis of the number of votes polled in the general elections by each party.

7. The strength of the Senate of Pakistan shall be increased to give representation to minorities in the Senate.

8. FATA shall be included in NWFP province in consultation with them.

9. Northern Areas shall be developed by giving it a special status and further empowering the Northern Areas Legislative Council to provide people of Northern Areas access to justice and human rights.

10. The Local Bodies Election will be held on party basis through Provincial Election Commissions in respective provinces and constitutional protection will be given to the Local Bodies to make them autonomous and answerable to their respective Assemblies as well as to the people through regular courts of law.

B. CODE OF CONDUCT

11. National Security Council will be abolished. Defence Cabinet Committee will be headed by PM and will have a permanent secretariat. The PM may appoint a Federal Security Advisor to process intelligence reports for the Prime Minister. The efficacy of the higher defence and security structure, created two decades ago, will be reviewed. The Joint Services Command structure will be strengthened and made more effective and headed in rotation among the three services by law.

12. The ban on a “Prime Minister not being eligible for a third” term of office will be abolished.

13. (a) Truth and Reconciliation Commission (T&RC)” be established to acknowledge victims of torture, imprisonment, state-sponsored persecution, targeted legislation, and politically motivated accountability. The Commission will also examine and report its findings on military coups and civil removals of governments from 1996.

(b) A Commission shall also examine and identify the causes of and fix responsibility and make recommendations in the light thereof for incidences such as Kargil.
(c) Accountability of NAB and other Ehtesab operators to identify and hold accountable abuse of office by NAB operators through purgery and perversion of justice and violation of human rights since its establishment.

(d) To replace politically motivated NAB with an independent Accountability Commission, whose Chairman shall be nominated by the Prime Minister in consultation with the Leader of Opposition and confirmed by a Joint Parliamentary Committee with 50 percent members from treasury benches and remaining 50 percent from opposition parties in same manner as appointment of judges through transparent public hearing. The confirmed nominee shall meet the standard of political impartiality, judicial propriety, moderate views expressed through his judgments and would have not dealt

14. The Press and Electronic Media will be allowed its independence. Access to Information will become law after parliamentary debate and public scrutiny.

15. The Chairmen of Public Accounts Committee in the National and Provincial Assemblies will be appointed by Leaders of Opposition in the concerned assemblies.

16. An effective Nuclear Command and Control system under the Defence Cabinet Committee will be put in place to avoid any possibility of leakage or proliferation.

17. Peaceful relations with India and Afghanistan will be pursued without prejudice to outstanding disputes.

18. Kashmir dispute should be settled in accordance with the UN Resolutions and the aspirations of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.
19. Governance will be improved to help the common citizen, by giving access to quality social services like education, health, job generation, curbing price hike, combating illegal redundancies, and curbing lavish spending in civil and military establishments as ostentious causes great resentment amongst the teeming millions. We pledge to promote and practice simplicity, at all levels.

20. Women, minorities, and the under privileged will be provided equal opportunities in all walks of life.

21. We will respect the electoral mandate of representative governments that accepts the due role of the opposition and declare neither shall undermine each other through extra constitutional ways.
22. We shall not join a military regime or any military sponsored government. No party shall solicit the support of military to come into power or to dislodge a democratic government.

23. To prevent corruption and floor crossing all votes for the Senate and indirect seats will be by open identifiable ballot. Those violating the party discipline in the poll shall stand disqualified by a letter from the Parliamentary Party Leader to the concerned Speaker or the Chairman Senate with a copy to the Election Commission for notification purposes within fourteen days of receipt of letter failing which it will be deemed to have been notified on the expiry of that period.

24. All military and judicial officers will be required to file annual assets and income declarations like Parliamentarians to make them accountable to the public.

25. A National Democracy Commission shall be established to promote and develop a democratic culture in the country and provide assistance to political parties for capacity building on the basis of their seats in Parliament in a transparent manner.

26. Terrorism and militancy are byproducts of military dictatorship, negation of democracy, are strongly condemned, and will be vigorously confronted.

C. FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

27. There shall be an independent, autonomous, and impartial Election Commission. The Prime Minister shall in consultation with Leader of Opposition forward upto three names for each position of Chief Election Commissioner, Members of Election Commission, and Secretary to Joint Parliamentary Committee, constituted on the same pattern as for appointment of judges in superior judiciary, through transparent public hearing process. In case of no consensus, both Prime Minister and Leader of Opposition shall forward separate lists to the Joint Parliamentary Committee for consideration. Provincial Election Commissioner shall be appointed on the same pattern by Committees of respective Provincial Assemblies.

28. All contesting political parties will be ensured a level playing field in the elections by the release of all political prisoners and the unconditional return of all political exiles. Elections shall be open to all political parties and political personalities. The graduation requirement of eligibility which has led to corruption and fake degrees will be repealed.

29. The Local bodies elections will be held within three months of the holding of general elections.
30. The concerned Election Authority shall suspend and appoint neutral Administrators for all Local Bodies from the date of formation of a caretaker Government for holding of general elections till the elections are held.

31. There shall be a neutral caretaker Government to hold free, fair, and transparent elections. The members of the said Government and their immediate relatives shall not contest elections.

D. CIVIL – MILITARY RELATIONS

32. The ISI, MI and other security agencies shall be accountable to the elected government through P.M. Sectt, Ministry of Defence, and Cabinet Division respectively. Their budgets will be approved by D.C.C after recommendations are prepared by the respective ministry. The political wings of all intelligence agencies will be disbanded. A Committee will be formed to cut waste and bloat in the armed forces and security agencies in the interest of the defence and security of the country. All senior postings in these agencies shall be made with the approval of the government through respective ministry.

33. All indemnities and savings introduced by military regimes in the constitution shall be reviewed.

34. Defence budget shall be placed before the Parliament for debate and approval.

35. Military land allotment and Cantonment jurisdictions will come under the purview of Ministry of Defence. A Commission shall be set up to review, scrutinize, and examine the legitimacy of all such land allotment rules, regulations, and policies, along with all cases of state land allotment including those of military urban and agricultural land allotments since 12th October, 1999 to hold those accountable who have indulged in malpractices, profiteering, and favouritism.

36. Rules of Business of the federal and provincial governments shall be reviewed to bring them in conformity with Parliamentary form of government.

(Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto)
Chairperson
Pakistan Peoples Party

(Mr. Nawaz Sharif)
Quaid
Pakistan Muslim League-N

Dated: 14th May, 2006
London, UK